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ABSTRACT

This collection of readings was assembled and edited for use at the White House Conference on Education in Washington, D.C. on July 21st and 22nd, 1965. Some of the twenty-nine documents of historical value and relevance in today's educational milieu are: 1) Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin, 1749; 2) The American Scholar, Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1837; 3) The Republic and the School: The Education of Free Men, Horace Mann, 1846; 4) Theory of Education, William Torrey Harris, 1870; 5) Declaration on Intellectual Freedom, Daniel Coit Gilman, 1875; 6) State Schools and Parish Schools: Is Union Between Them Impossible? Archbishop John Ireland, 1890; 7) The School and Social Progress, John Dewey, 1897; 8) Five Evidences of an Education, Nicholas Murray Butler, 1901; 9) Strategy for State Universities: Two Views, Charles Van Hise, 1904; 10) Debate on Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act, 1917; 11) The Aims of Education, A.N. Whitehead, 1929; 12) The Higher Learning in America, Robert Maynard Hutchings, 1936; 13) Toward Equalizing Opportunity, 1947; 14) The Decline and Fall of Progressive Education, Lawrence A. Cremin, 1961; 15) In Support of Federal Aid to Education, Robert A. Taft, 1948; 16) Prejudice and Your Child, Kenneth B. Clark, 1955; 17) Brown vs. Board of Education, 1954; 18) Nationwide Educational Policy, James Bryant Conant, 1964; 19) The Partnership of Campus and Country, Lyndon B. Johnson, 1964. (Author/SBE)

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AN OLD MAN'S THOUGHT OF SCHOOL

By Walt Whitman

An old man's thought of school,
An old man gathering youthful memories and blooms that youth
itself cannot.

Now only do I know you,
O fair auroral skies—O morning dew upon the grass!

And these I see, these sparkling eyes,
These stores of mystic meaning, these young lives,
Building, equipping like a fleet of ships, immortal ships,
Soon to sail out over the measureless seas,
On the soul's voyage.

Only a lot of boys and girls?
Only the tiresome spelling, writing, ciphering classes?
Only a public school?

Ah more, infinitely more;
(As George Fox rais'd his warning cry, "Is it this pile of brick
and mortar, these dead floors, windows, rails, you call
the church?
Why this is not the church at all—the church is living, ever
living souls.")
And you America,
Cast you the real reckoning for your present?
The lights and shadows of your future, good or evil?
To girlhood, boyhood look, the teacher and the school.

1
I hold the Pen to my Right
To hold the Pen the way to write
This is to my Comfort now I see
my desires accomplisht bee
We can divide our
Pains of
The method's easy our Instructions plain
few Ma
ers can our Art excell
Few M
ers can our Art excell
This
London printed for Tho: Hawkins in George-yard in Lombard street

NEW ENGLAND'S FIRST FRUITS, 1643

The document reproduced only in part here is one of the most important sources of information about early Harvard. It was designed as a promotional tract to raise funds for the new college. Though its author has not been identified, it is likely that President Henry Dunster (1609-59) supplied some information to the writer.

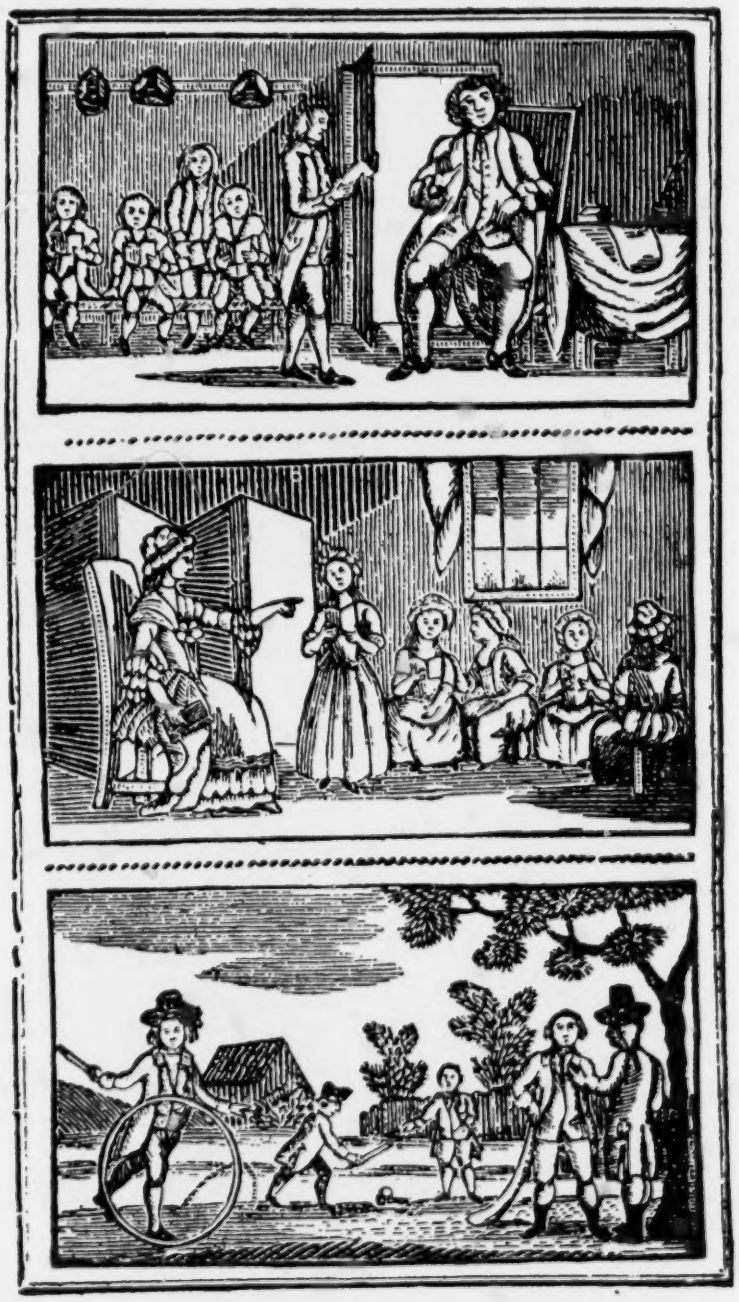
In Respect of the Colledge, and the Proceedings of "Learning" Therein: 1. After God had carried us safe to New England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship, and setled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministery to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great Work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly Gentleman, and a lover of Learning, there living amongst us) to give the onehalfe of his Estate (it being in all about 1700.l.) towards the erecting of a Colledge: and all his Library: after him another gave 300.l. others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest: the Colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at Cambridge, (a place very pleasant and accommodate) and is called (according to the name of the first founder) Harvard Colledge.

The Edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall; (where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures and Exercises), and a large Library with some Bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their Chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the Students, and all other roomes of Office necessary and convenient, with all needfull Offices thereto belonging: And by the side of the Colledge a faire Grammer Schoole, for the training up of young Schollars, and fitting them for Academicall Learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this Schoole: Master Corlet is the Mr., who hath very well approved himselfe for his abilities, dexterity and painfulnesse in teaching and education of the youth under him.

Over the Colledge is master Dunster placed, as President, a learned conscionable and industrious man, who hath so trained up his Pupils in the tongues and Arts, and so seasoned them with the principles of Divinity and Christianity, that we have to our great comfort, (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progresse in Learning and godlinesse also; the former of these hath appeared in their publique declamations in Latine and Greeke, and Disputations Logicall and Philosophicall, which they have wonted (besides their ordinary Exercises in the Colledge-Hall) in the audience of the Magistrates, Ministers, and other Schollars, for the probation of their growth in Learning, upon set dayes, constantly once every moneth to make and uphold: The latter hath been manifested in sundry of them, by the savoury breathings of their Spirits in their godly conversation. Insomuch that we are confident, if these early blossomes may be cherished and warmed with the influence of the friends of Learning, and lovers of this pious worke, they will by

the help of God, come to happy maturity in a short time.

Ofer the Colledge are twelve Overseers chosen by the generall Court, six of them are of the Magistrates, the other six of the Ministers, who are to promote the best good of it and (having a power of influence into all persons in it) are to see that every one be diligent and proficient in his proper place.



2

CONCERNING THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA

The account of the founding of William and Mary reflects the political controversies of the period. It is from "The Present State of Virginia and the College," written in 1697 by three royal officials in the colony of that day. One of the trio, James Blair, was the official representative, or commissary, of the Bishop of London. Fearing the innovations which were creeping into the ecclesiastical establishment of Virginia, he led the move to establish an institution that would offer suitable training for the clergy. In February 1693, Blair succeeded in obtaining a royal charter for the college and he secured considerable funds in England for its endowment. The charter named him the first president of the institution.

In the Year 1691, Colonel Nicholson being Lieutenant Governor, the General Assembly considering the bad Circumstances of the Country for want of Education for their Youth, went upon a Proposition of a College, to which they gave the name of William and Mary. They propos'd that in this college there should be three Schools, viz. A Grammar School, for teaching the Latin and Greek Tongues: A Philosophical School, for Philosophy and Mathematicks: and A Divinity School, for the Oriental Tongues and Divinity; for it was one Part of their Design that this College should be a Seminary for the breeding of good Ministers, with which they were but very indifferently supply'd from abroad: They appointed what Masters should be in each of these Schools, and what Salaries they should have. For the Government and Visitation of this College they appointed a College-Senate, which should consist of 18, or any other Number not exceeding 20, who were then the Lieutenant-Governor, four Gentlemen of the Council, four of the Clergy, and the rest, nam'd out of the House of Burgesses, with Power to them to continue themselves by Election of a Successor in the room of any one that should dye, or remove out of the Country. They petition'd the King that he would make these Men Trustees for founding and building this College, and governing it by such Rules and Statutes, as they, or the major Part of them, should from Time to Time appoint. Accordingly, the King pass'd his Charter under the Great Seal of England for such a College, and contributed very bountifully, both to the Building and Endowment of it. Toward the Building he gave near 2000.l. in ready Cash, out of the Bank of Quit-Rents, in which Governor Nicholson left at that Time about 4500.l. And towards the Endowment the King gave the neat Produce of the Penny per Pound in Virginia and Maryland, worth 200.l. per Annum. (mention'd pag. 60) and the Surveyor General's Place, worth about 50.l. per Annum, and the Choice of 10000 Acres of Land in Panmuckey Neck, and 10000 more on the South-side of the Black-water-swamp, which were Tracts of Land till that Time prohibited to be taken up. The General Assembly also gave the College a Duty on Skins and Furrs, worth better than 100.l. a Year, and they got Subscriptions in Virginia in Governor Nicholson's Time for about 2500.l. towards the Building. With these Beginnings the Trustees of the College went to work, but their good Governor, who had been the greatest Encourager in that Country of this Design, (on which he has

laid out 350.l. of his own Money) being at that time remov'd from them, and another put in his Place that was of a quite different Spirit and Temper, they found their Business go on very heavily, and such Difficulties in every thing, that presently upon change of the Governor they had as many Enemies as ever they had had Friends; such an universal Influence and Sway has a Person of that Character in All Affairs of that Country. The Gentlemen of the Council, who had been the forwardest to subscribe, were the backwardest to pay; then every one was for finding Shifts to evade and elude their Subscriptions; and the meaner People were so influenced by their Countenance and Example, (Men being easily persuaded to keep their Money) that there was not one Penny got of new Subscriptions, nor paid of the old 2500.l. but about 500.l. Nor durst they put the Matter to the Hazard of a Law-Suit, where this new Governor and his Favourites were to be their Judges. Thus it was with the Funds for Building: And they fared little better with the Funds for Endowments; for notwithstanding the first Choice they are to have of the Land by the Charter, Patents were granted to others for vast Tracts of Land, and every one was ready to oppose the College in taking up the Land; their Survey was violently stop'd, their Chain broke, and to this Day they can never get to the Possession of the Land. But the Trustees of the College being encourag'd with a Gracious Letter the King writ to the Governor to encourage the College, and to remove all the Obstructions of it, went to work, and carry'd up one Half of the design'd Quadrangle of the Building,[3] advancing Money out of their own Pockets, where the Donations fell short. They founded their Grammar-School, which is in a very thriving Way; and having the clear Right and Title to the Land, would not be baffled in that Point, but have struggled with the greatest Man in the Government, next the Governor, i.e. Mr. Secretary Wormley, who pretends to have a Grant in futuro for no less than 13000 Acres of the best Land in Panmuckey Neck. The Cause is not yet decided, only Mr. Secretary has again stop'd the Chain,[4] which it is not likely he would do, if he did not know that he should be supported in it. The Collectors of the Penny per Pound likewise are very remiss in laying their Accompts before the Governors of the College, according to the Instructions of the Commissioners of the Customs, so that illegal Trade is carry'd on, and some of these Gentlemen refuse to give any account upon Oath. This is the present State of the College. It is honestly and zealously carry'd on by the Trustees, but is in Danger of being ruin'd by the Backwardness of the Government.

Sign'd, Henry Hartwell, James Blair, E. Chilton.

PROPOSALS RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH IN PENNSYLVANIA

By Benjamin Franklin (1749)

Benjamin Franklin—in addition to being a statesman, diplomat, scientist, writer, and inventor—was also an educator. In 1749 he proposed that an Academy be set up in Pennsylvania for the education of youth, and offered these ". . . Hints towards forming a Plan for the Education of the Youth of Pennsylvania."

The good Education of Youth has been esteemed by wise Men in all Ages, as the surest Foundation of the Happiness both of private Families and of Commonwealths. Almost all Governments have therefore made it a principal Object of their Attention, to establish and endow with proper Revenues, such Seminaries of Learning, as might supply the succeeding Age with Men qualified to serve the Publick with Honour to themselves, and to their Country.

Many of the first Settlers of these Provinces, were Men who had received a good Education in Europe, and to their Wisdom and good Management we owe much of our present Prosperity. But their Hands were full, and they could not do all Things. The present Race are not thought to be generally of equal Ability: For though the American Youth are allow'd not to want Capacity; yet the best Capacities require Cultivation, it being truly with them, as with the best Ground, which unless well tilled and sowed with profitable Seed, produces only ranker Weeds.

That we may obtain the Advantages arising from an Increase of Knowledge, and prevent as much as may be the mischievous Consequences that would attend a general Ignorance among us, the following Hints are offered towards forming a Plan for the Education of the Youth of Pennsylvania, viz.

It is propos'd,

That some Persons of Leisure and publick Spirit, apply for a Charter, by which they may be incorporated, with Power to erect an Academy for the Education of Youth, to govern the same, provide Masters, make Rules, receive Donations, purchase Land, etc. and to add to their Number, from Time to Time such other Persons as they shall judge suitable.

That the Members of the Corporation make it their Pleasure, and in some Degree their Business, to visit the Academy often, encourage and countenance the Youth, countenance and assist the Master, and by all Means in their Power advance the Usefulness and Reputation of the Design; that they look on the Students as in some Sort their Children, treat them with Familiarity and Affection, and when they have behav'd well, and gone through their Studies, and are to enter the World, zealously unite, and make all the Interest that can be made to establish them, whether in Business, Offices, Marriages, or any other Thing for their Advantage, preferably to all other Persons whatsoever even of equal Merit.

And if Men may, and frequently do, catch such a Taste for cultivating Flowers, for Planting, Grafting, Inoculating, and the like, as to despise all other Amusements for their Sake, why may not we expect they should acquire a Relish for that more

useful Culture of young Minds. Thompson says,

> 'Tis Joy to see the human Blossoms blow,
> When infant Reason grows apace, and calls
> For the kind Hand of an assiduous Care;
> Delightful Task! to rear the tender Thought,
> To teach the young Idea how to shoot,
> To pour the fresh Instruction o'er the Mind,
> To breath th'enliv'ning Spirit, and to fix
> The generous Purpose in the glowing Breast.

That a House be provided for the Academy, if not in the Town, not many Miles from it; the Situation high and dry, and if it may be, not far from a River, having a Garden, Orchard, Meadow, and a Field or two.

That a House be furnished with a Library (if in the Country, if in the Town, the Town Libraries may serve) with Maps of all Countries, Globes, some mathematical Instruments, an Apparatus for Experiments in Natural Philosophy, and for Mechanics; Prints, of all Kinds, Prospects, Buildings, Machines, etc.

That the Rector be a Man of good Understanding, good Morals, diligent and patient, learn'd in the Languages and Sciences, and a correct pure Speaker and Writer of the English Tongue; to have such Tutors under him as shall be necessary.

That the boarding Scholars diet together, plainly, temperately, and frugally.

That so keep them in Health, and to strengthen and render active their Bodies, they be frequently exercis'd in Running, Leaping, Wrestling, and Swimming, etc.

That they have peculiar Habits to distinguish them from other Youth, if the Academy be in or near the Town; for this, among other Reasons, that their Behaviour may be the better observed.

As to their Studies, it would be well if they could be taught every Thing that is useful, and every Thing that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short. It is therefore propos'd that they learn those Things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental, Regard being had to the several Professions for which they are intended.

All should be taught to write a fair Hand, and swift, as that is useful to All. And with it may be learnt something of Drawing, by Imitation of Prints, and some of the first Principles of Perspective.

Arithmetick, Accounts, and some of the first Principles of Geometry and Astronomy.

The English Language might be taught by Grammar; in which some of our best Writers, as Tillotson, Addison, Pope, Algernon Sidney, Cato's Letters, etc. should be Classicks: The Stiles principally to be cultivated, being the clear and the concise. Reading should also be taught, and pronouncing, properly, distinctly, emphatically; not with an even Tone, which under-does, nor a theatrical, which over-does Nature.

To form their Stile, they should be put on Writing Letters to each other, making Abstracts of what they read; or writing the same Things in their own Words; telling or writing Stories lately read, in their own Expressions. All to be revis'd and corrected by the Tutor, who should give his Reasons, explain the Force and Import of Words, etc.

To form their Pronunciation, they may be put on making Declamations, repeating Speeches, delivering Orations, etc. The Tutor assisting at the Rehearsals, teaching, advising, correcting their Accent, etc.

But if History be made a constant Part of their Reading, such as the Translations of the Greek and Roman Historians, and the modern Histories of antient

Greece and Rome, etc. may not almost all Kinds of useful Knowledge be that Way introduc'd to Advantage, and with Pleasure to the Student? As

Geography, by reading with Maps, and being required to point out the Places where the greatest Actions were done, to give their old and new Names with the Bounds, Situation, Extent of the Countries concern'd, etc.

Chronology, by the Help of Helvicus or some other Writer of the Kind, who will enable them to tell when those Events happened; what Princes were Cotemporaries, what States or famous Men flourish'd about that Time, etc. The several principal Epochas to be first well fix'd in their Memories.

Antient Customs, religious and civil, being frequently mentioned in History, will give Occasion for explaining them; in which the Prints of Medals, Basso Relievo's, and antient Monuments will greatly assist.

Morality, by descanting and making continual Observations on the Causes of the Rise or Fall of any Man's Character, Fortune, Power, etc. mention'd in History; the Advantages of Temperance, Order, Frugality, Industry, Perseverance, etc. Indeed the general natural Tendency of Reading good History, must be, to fix in the Minds of Youth deep Impressions of the Beauty of the Usefulness of Virtue of all Kinds, Publick Spirit, Fortitude, etc.

History will show the wonderful Effects of Oratory, in governing, turning and leading great Bodies of Mankind, Armies, Cities, Nations. When the Minds of Youth are struck with Admiration at this, then is the Time to give them the Principles of that Art, which they will study with Taste and Application. Then they may be made acquainted with the Best Models among the Antients, their Beauties being particularly pointed out to them. Modern Political Oratory being chiefly performed by the Pen and Press, its Advantages over the Antient in some Respects are to shown; as that its Effects are more extensive, more lasting, etc.

History will also afford frequent Opportunities of showing the Necessity of a Publick Religion, from its Usefulness to the Publick; the Advantage of a Religious Character among private Persons; the Mischiefs of Superstition, etc. and the Excellency of the Christian Religion above all other antient or modern.

History will also give Occasion to expatiate on the Advantage of Civil Orders and Constitutions, how Men and their Properties are protected by joining in Societies and establishing Government; their Industry encouraged and rewarded, Arts invented, and Life made more comfortable: The Advantages of Liberty, Mischiefs of Licentiousness, Benefits arising from good Laws and a due Execution of Justice, etc. Thus may the first Principles of sound Politicks be fix'd in the Minds of Youth.

On Historical Occasions, Questions of Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice, will naturally arise, and may be put to Youth, which they may debate in Conversation and in Writing. When they ardently desire Victory, for the Sake of the Praise attending it, they will begin to feel the Want, and be sensible of the Use of Logic, or the Art of Reasoning to discover Truth, and of Arguing to defend it, and convince Adversaries. This would be the Time to acquaint them with the Principles of that Art. Grotius, Puffendorff, and some other Writers of the same Kind, may be used on these Occasions to decide their Disputes. Publick Disputes warm the Imagination, whet the Industry, and strengthen the natural Abilities.

When Youth are told, that the Great Men whose Lives and Actions they read in History, spoke two of the best Languages, that ever were, the most expressive, copious, beautiful; and that the finest Writings, the most correct Compositions, the most perfect Productions of human Wit and Wisdom, are in those Languages, which have endured Ages, and will endure while there are Men; that no Transla-

tion can do them Justice, or give the Pleasure found in Reading the Originals; that those Languages contain all Science; that one of them is become almost universal, being the Language of Learned Men in all Countries; that to understand them is a distinguishing Ornament, etc. they may be thereby made desirous of learning those Languages, and their Industry sharpen'd in the Acquisition of them. All intended for Divinity should be taught the Latin and Greek; for Physick, the Latin, Greek and French; for Law, the Latin and French; Merchants, and French, German, and Spanish; And though all should not be compell'd to learn Latin, Greek, or the modern foreign Languages; yet none that have an ardent Desire to learn them should be refused; their English, Arithmetick, and other Studies absolutely necessary, being at the same Time not neglected.

If the new Universal History were also read, it would give a connected Idea of human Affairs, so far as it goes, which should be follow'd by the best modern Histories, particularly of our Mother Country; then of these Colonies; which should be accompanied with Observations on their Rise, Encrease, Use to Great-Britain, Encouragements, Discouragements, etc. the Means to make them flourish, secure their Liberties, etc.

With the History of Men, Times and Nations, should be read at proper Hours or Days, some of the best Histories of Nature, which would not only be delightful to Youth, and furnish them with Matter for their Letters, etc. as well as other History; but afterwards of great Use to them, whether they are Merchants, Handicrafts, or Divines; enabling the first the better to understand many Commodities, Drugs, etc. the second to improve his Trade or Handicraft by new Mixtures, Materials, etc. and the last to adorn his Discourses by beautiful Comparisons, and strengthen them by new Proofs of Divine Providence. The Conversation of all will be improved by it, as Occasions frequently occur of making Natural Observations, which are instructive, agreeable, and entertaining in almost all Companies. Natural History will also afford Opportunities of introducing many Observations, relating to the Preservation of Health, which may be afterwards of great Use. Arbuthnot on Air and Aliment, Sanctorius on Perspiration, Lemery on Foods, and some others, may now be read, and a very little Explanation will make them sufficiently intelligible to Youth.

While they are reading Natural History, might not a little Gardening, Planting, Grafting, Inoculating, etc. be taught and practised; and now and then Excursions made to the neighbouring Plantations of the best Farmers, their Methods observ'd and reason'd upon for the Information of Youth. The Improvement of Agriculture being useful to all, and Skill in it no Disparagement to any.

The History of Commerce, of the Invention of Arts, Rise of Manufactures, Progress of Trade, Change of its Seats, with the Reasons, Causes, etc. may also be made entertaining to Youth, and will be useful to all. And this, with the Accounts in other History of the prodigious Force and Effect of Engines and Machines used in War, will naturally introduce a Desire to be instructed in Mechanicks, and to be inform'd of the Principles of that Art by which weak Men perform such Wonders, Labour is sav'd, Manufacturers expedited, etc. This will be the Time to show them Prints of antient and modern Machines, to explain them, to let them be copied, and to give Lectures in Mechanical Philosophy.

With the whole should be constantly inculcated and cultivated, that Benignity of Mind, which shows itself in searching for and seizing every Opportunity to serve and to oblige; and is the Foundation of what is called Good Breeding; highly useful to the Possessor, and most agreeable to all.

The Idea of what is true Merit, should also be often presented to Youth, explain'd and impress'd on their Minds, as consisting in an Inclination join'd with

an Ability to serve Mankind, one's Country, Friends and Family; which Ability is (with the Blessing of God) to be acquir'd or greatly encreas'd by true Learning; and should indeed be the great Aim and End of all Learning.

A NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL OF 1810

Here is what an American school was like in 1810, as described by a New England teacher about 20 years later. Looking back, he reflects on some of the changes that have taken place during the first quarter of the 19th century.

(A) The school building: The school house stood near the center of the district, at the junction of four roads, so near the usual track of carriages that a large stone was set up at the end of the building to defend it from injury. Except in the dry season the ground was wet, and the soil by no means firm. The spot was particularly exposed to the bleak winds of winter; nor were there any shade trees to shelter the children from the scorching rays of the summer's sun, as they were cut down many years ago. Neither was there any such thing as an outhouse of any kind, not even a wood shed.

The size of the building was 22 x 20 feet. From the floor to the ceiling it was 7 feet. The chimney and entry took up about four feet at one end, leaving the schoolroom itself 18 x 20 feet. Around these sides of the room were connected desks, arranged so that when the pupils were sitting at them their faces were towards the instructor and their backs toward the wall. Attached to the sides of the desks near-

est to the instructor were benches for small pupils. The instructor's desk and chair occupied the center. On this desk were stationed a rod, or ferule; sometimes both. These, with books, writings, inkstands, rules, and plummets, with a fire shovel, and a pair of tongs (often broken), were the principal furniture.

The windows were five in number, of twelve panes each. They were situated so low in the walls as to give full opportunity to the pupils to see every traveller as he passed, and to be easily seen. The places of the broken panes were usually supplied with hats, during school hours. A depression in the chimney, on one side of the entry, furnished a place of deposit for about half of the hats, and the spare clothes of the boys; the rest were left on the floor, often to be trampled upon. The girls generally carried their bonnets, etc., into the schoolroom. The floor and ceiling were level, and the walls were plastered.

The room was warmed by a large and deep fire place. So large was it, and so efficacious in warming the room otherwise, that I have seen about one-eighth of a cord of good wood burning in it at a time. In severe weather it was estimated that the amount usually consumed was not far from a cord a week. . . .

The school was not infrequently broken up for a day or two for want of wood. The instructor or pupils were sometimes, however, compelled to cut or saw it to prevent the closing of the school. The wood was left in the road near the house, so that it often was buried in the snow, or wet with rain. At the best, it was usually burnt green. The fires were to be kindled about half an hour before the time of beginning the school. Often, the scholar, whose lot it was, neglected to build it. In consequence of this, the house was frequently cold and uncomfortable about half of the forenoon, when, the fire being very large, the excess of heat became equally distressing. Frequently, too, we were annoyed by smoke. The greatest amount of suffering, however, arose from excessive heat, particularly at the close of the day. The pupils being in a free perspiration when they left, were very liable to take cold.

The ventilation of the schoolroom was as much neglected as its temperature; and its cleanliness, more perhaps than either. There were no arrangements for cleaning feet at the door, or for washing floors, windows, etc. In the summer the floor was washed, perhaps once in two or three weeks.

(B) The Instructors: The winter school usually opened about the first week of December, and continued from twelve to sixteen weeks. The summer term commenced about the first of May. Formerly this was also continued about three or four months, but within ten years the term has been lengthened usually to twenty weeks. Males have been uniformly employed in winter, and females in summer.

The instructors have usually been changed every season, but sometimes they have been continued two successive summers or winters. A strong prejudice has always existed against employing the same instructor more than once or twice in the same district. This prejudice has yielded in one instance, so far that an instructor who had taught two successive winters, twenty-five years before, was employed another season. I have not been able to ascertain the number of instructors who have been engaged in the school during the last thirty years, but I can distinctly recollect thirty-seven. Many of them, both males and females, were from sixteen to eighteen years of age, and a few, over twenty-one.

Good moral character, and a thorough knowledge of the common branches, formerly were considered as indispensable qualifications in an instructor. The instructors were chiefly selected from the most respectable families in town. But for fifteen or twenty years, these things have not been so much regarded. They have indeed been deemed desirable; but the most common method now seems to be to ascertain, as near as possible, the dividend for that season from the public treasury,

and then fix upon a teacher who will take charge of the school, three or four months, for this money. He must indeed be able to obtain a license from the Board of Visitors; but this has become nearly a matter of course, provided he can spell, read, and write. In general, the candidate is some favorite or relative of the District Committee. It gives me great pleasure, however, to say that the moral character of almost every instructor, so far as I know, has been unexceptional.

Instructors have usually boarded in the families of the pupils. Their compensation has varied from seven to eleven dollars a month for males; and from sixty-two and a half cents to one dollar a week for females. Within the past ten years, however, the price of instruction has rarely been less than nine dollars in the former case, and seventy-five cents in the latter. In the few instances in which instructors have furnished their own board the compensation has been about the same, it being assumed that they could work at some employment of their own enough to pay their board, especially the females.

(C) The Instruction: Two of the Board of Visitors usually visit the winter schools twice during the term. In the summer, their visits are often omitted. These visits usually occupy from one hour to an hour and a half. They are spent merely in hearing a few hurried lessons, and in making some remarks, general in their character. Formerly, it was customary to examine the pupils in some approved Catechism, but this practice has been omitted for twenty years.

The parents seldom visit the school, except by special invitation. The greater number pay very little attention to it at all. There are, however, a few who are gradually awakening to the importance of good instruction; but there are also a few who oppose everything which is suggested as, at the least, useless; and are scarcely willing their children should be governed in the school.

The school books have been about the same for thirty years. Webster's Spelling Book, the American Preceptor, and the New Testament, have been the principal books used. Before the appearance of the American Preceptor, Dwight's Geography was used as a reading book. A few of the Introduction to the American Orator were introduced about twelve years since, and, more recently, Jack Halyard.

Until within a few years, no studies have been permitted in the day school but spelling, reading, and writing. Arithmetic was taught by a few instructors, one or two evenings in a week, but, in spite of the most determined opposition, arithmetic is now permitted in the day school, and a few pupils study geography.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO FIX THE SITE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, &c.

By Thomas Jefferson (1818)

A tavern in Rockfish Gap, on the Blue Ridge, was the meeting place for the Commissioners of the University of Virginia on August 1, 1818. The group, headed by former President Thomas Jefferson, was named by the State Legislature to fix a site for the new university, and also to report on the "branches of learning" which should be taught there. Here Jefferson describes projected goals of education.

The Commissioners for the University of Virginia, having met, as by law required, at the tavern, in Rockfish Gap, on the Blue Ridge, on the first day of August, of this present year, 1818; and having formed a board, proceeded on that day to discharge of the duties assigned to them by the act of the Legislature, entitled "An act, appropriating part of the revenue of the literacy fund, and for other purposes;" and having continued their proceedings by adjournment, from day to day, to Tuesday, the 4th day of August, have agreed to a report on the several matters with which they were charged, which report they now respectfully address and submit to the Legislature of the State.

The first duty enjoined on them, was to inquire and report a site. * * *

2. The Board having thus agreed on a proper site for the University, to be reported to the Legislature, proceed to the second of the duties assigned to them—that of proposing a plan for its buildings. * * *

3, 4. In proceeding to the third and fourth duties prescribed by the Legislature, of reporting "the branches of learning, which should be taught in the University, and the number and description of the professorships they will require," the Commissioners were first to consider at what point it was understood that university education should commence? Certainly not with the alphabet, for reasons of expediency and impracticability, as well as from the obvious sense of the Legislature,

who, in the same act, make other provisions for the primary instruction of the poor children, expecting, doubtless, that in other cases it woud be provided by the parent, or become, perhaps, subject of future and further attention of the Legislature. The objects of this primary education determine its character and limits. These objects would be,

To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business;

To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts, in writing;

To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties;

To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either;

To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor, and judgment;

And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed.

To instruct the mass of our citizens in these, their rights, interests and duties, as men and citizens, being then the objects of education in the primary schools, whether private or public, in them should be taught reading, writing and numerical arithmetic, the elements of mensuration (useful in so many callings,) and the outlines of geography and history. And this brings us to the point at which are to commence the higher branches of education, of which the Legislature requires the development; those, for example, which are,

To form the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend;

To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;

To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and by well informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;

To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order;

To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life;

And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves.

These are the objects of that higher grade of education, the benefits and blessings of which the Legislature now propose to provide for the good and ornament of their country, the gratification and happines of their fellow-citizens, of the parent especially, and his progeny, on which all his affections are concentrated.

In entering on this field, the Commissioners are aware that they have to encounter much difference of opinion as to the extent which it is expedient that this institution should occupy. Some good men, and even of respectable information, consider the learned sciences as useless acquirements; some think that they do not better the condition of man; and others that education, like private and individual concerns, should be left to private individual effort; not reflecting that an establishment embracing all the sciences which may be useful and even necessary in the

various vocations of life, with the buildings and apparatus belonging to each, are far beyond the reach of individual means, and must either derive existence from public patronage, or not exist at all. This would leave us, then, without those callings which depend on education, or send us to other countries to seek the instruction they require. But the Commissioners are happy in considering the statute under which they are assembled as proof that the Legislature is far from the abandonment of objects so interesting. They are sensible that the advantages of well-directed education, moral, political and economical, are truly above all estimate. Education generates habits of application, of order, and the love of virtue; and controls, by the force of habit, any innate obliquities in our moral organization. We should be far, too, from the discouraging persuasion that man is fixed, by law of his nature, at a given point; that his improvement is a chimera, and the hope delusive of rendering ourselves wiser, happier or better than our forefathers were. As well might it be urged that the wild and uncultivated tree, hitherto yielding sour and bitter fruit only, can never be made to yield better; yet we know that the grafting art implants a new tree on the savage stock, producing what is most estimable both in kind and degree. Education, in like manner, engrafts a new man on the native stock, and improves what in his nature was vicious and perverse into qualities of virtue and social worth. And it cannot be but that each generation succeeding to the knowledge acquired by all those who preceded it, adding to it their own acquisitions and discoveries, and handing the mass down for successive and constant accumulation, must advance the knowledge and well-being of mankind, not *infinitely*, as some have said, but *indefinitely*, and to a term which no one can fix and foresee. Indeed, we need look back half a century, to times which many now living remember well, and see the wonderful advances in the sciences and arts which have been made within that period. Some of these have rendered the elements themselves subservient to the purposes of man, have harnessed them to the yoke of his labors, and effected the great blessings of moderating his own, of accomplishing what was beyond his feeble force, and extending the comforts of life to a much enlarged circle, to those who had before known its necessaries only. That these are not the vain dreams of sanguine hope, we have before our eyes real and living examples. What, but education, has advanced us beyond the condition of our indigenous neighbors? And what chains them to their present state of barbarism and wretchedness, but a bigotted veneration for the supposed superlative wisdom of their fathers, and the preposterous idea that they are to look backward for better things, and not forward, longing, as it should seem, to return to the days of eating acorns and roots, rather than indulge in the degeneracies of civilization? And how much more encouraging to the achievements of science and improvement is this, than the desponding view that the condition of man cannot be ameliorated, that what has been must ever be, and that to secure ourselves where we are, we must tread with awful reverence in the footsteps of our fathers. * * * Nor must we omit to mention, among the benefits of education, the incalculable advantage of training up able counsellors to administer the affairs of our country in all its departments, legislative, executive and judiciary, and to bear their proper share in the councils of our national government; nothing more than education advancing the prosperity, the power, and the happiness of a nation.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

By Ralph Waldo Emerson (1837)

"Our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands draws to a close. We will walk on our own feet." In this famous essay, Emerson declares America's intellectual independence from Europe.

I greet you on the re-commencement of our literary year. Our anniversary is one of hope, and, perhaps, not enough of labor. We do not meet for games of strength or skill, for the recitation of histories, tragedies and odes, like the ancient Greeks; for parliaments of love and poesy, like the Troubadours; nor for the advancement of science, like our cotemporaries in the British and European capitals. Thus far, our holiday has been simply a friendly sign of the survival of the love of letters amongst a people too busy to give letters any more. As such, it is precious as the sign of an indestructible instinct. Perhaps the time is already come, when it ought to be, and will be something else; when the sluggard intellect of this continent will look from under its iron lids and fill the postponed expectation of the world with something better than the exertions of mechanical skill. Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. The millions that around us are rushing into life, cannot always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests. Events, actions arise, that must be sung, that will sing themselves. Who can doubt the poetry will revive and lead in a new age, as the star in the constellation Harp which now flames in our zenith, astronomers announce, shall one day be the pole-star for a thousand years.

In the light of this hope, I accept the topic which not only usage, but the nature of our association, seem to prescribe to this day,—the AMERICAN SCHOLAR. Year by year, we come up hither to read one more chapter of his biography. Let us inquire what new lights, new events and more days have thrown on his character, his duties, and his hopes.

It is one of those fables, which out of an unknown antiquity, convey an unlooked for wisdom, that the gods, in the beginning, divided Man into men, that he might be more helpful to himself; just as the hand was divided into fingers, the better to answer its end.

The old fable covers a doctrine ever new and sublime; that there is One Man,—present to all particular men only partially, or through one faculty; and that you must take the whole society to find the whole man. Man is not a farmer, or a professor, or an engineer, but he is all. Man is priest, and scholar, and statesman, and producer, and soldier. In the divided or social state, these functions are parcelled out to individuals, each of whom aims to do his stint of the joint work, whilst each other performs his. The fable implies that the individual to possess himself, must sometimes return from his own labor to embrace all the other laborers. But unfortunately, this original unit, this fountain of power, has been so distributed to multitudes, has been so minutely subdivided and peddled out, that it is spilled into drops, and cannot be gathered. The state of society is one in which the members

have suffered amputation from the trunk, and strut about so many walking monsters,—a good finger, a neck, a stomach, an elbow, but never a man.

Man is thus metamorphosed into a thing, into many things. The planter, who is Man sent out into the fields to gather food, is seldom cheered by an idea of the true dignity of his ministry. He sees his bushel and his cart, and nothing beyond, and sinks into the farmer, instead of Man on the farm. The tradesman scarcely ever gives an ideal worth to his work, but is ridden by the routine of his craft, and the soul is subject to dollars. The priest becomes a form; the attorney, a statute-book; the mechanic, a machine; the sailor, a rope of a ship.

In this distribution of functions, the scholar is the delegated intellect. In the right state, he is, Man Thinking. In the degenerate state, when the victim of society, he tends to become a mere thinker, or, still worse, the parrot of other men's thinking.

In this view of him, as Man Thinking, the whole theory of his office is contained. Him nature solicits, with all her placid, all her monitory pictures. Him the past instructs. Him the future invites. Is not, indeed, every man a student, and do not all things exist for the student's behoof? And, finally, is not the true scholar the only true master? But, as the old oracle said, "All things have two handles. Beware of the wrong one." In life, too often, the scholar errs with mankind and forfeits his privilege. Let us see him in his school, and consider him in reference to the main influences he receives.

I. The first in time and the first in importance of the influences upon the mind is that of nature. Every day, the sun; and, after sunset, night and her stars. Ever the winds blow; ever the grass grows. Every day, men and women, conversing, beholding and beholden. The scholar must needs stand wistful and admiring before this great spectacle. He must settle its value in his mind. What is nature to him? There is never a beginning, there is never an end to the inexplicable continuity of this web of God, but always circular power returning into itself. * * * Classification begins. To the young mind, every thing is individual, stands by itself. By and by, it finds how to join two things, and see in them one nature; then three, then three thousand; and so, tyrannized over by its own unifying instinct, it goes on trying things together, diminishing anomalies, discovering roots running under ground, whereby contrary and remote things cohere, and flower out from one stem. It presently learns, that, since the dawn of history, there has been a constant accumulation and classifying of facts. But what is classification but the perceiving that these objects are not chaotic, and are not foreign, but have a law which is also a law of the human mind? The astronomer discovers that geometry, a pure abstraction of the human mind, is the measure of planetary motion. The chemist finds proportions and intelligible method throughout matter; and science is nothing but the finding of analogy, identity in the most remote parts. The ambitious soul sits down before each refractory fact; one after another, reduces all strange constitutions, all new powers, to their class and their law, and goes on forever to animate the last fibre of organization, the outskirts of nature, by insight.

Thus to him, to this school-boy under the bending dome of day, is suggested, that he and it proceed from one root. * * * And, in fine, the ancient precept, "Know thyself," and the modern precept, "Study nature," become at last one maxim.

II. The next great influence into the spirit of the scholar, is, the mind of the Past, —in whatever form, whether of literature, of art, of institutions, that mind is inscribed. Books are the best type of the influence of the past, and perhaps we shall get at the truth—learn the amount of this influence more conveniently—by considering their value alone.

The theory of books is noble. The scholar of the first age received into him the world around; brooded thereon; gave it the new arrangement of his own mind, and uttered it again. It came into him—life; it went out from him—truth. It came to him—short-lived actions; it went out from him—immortal thoughts. It came to him—business; it went from him—poetry. It was—dead fact; now, it is quick thought. It can stand, and it can go. It now endures, it now flies, it now inspires. Precisely in proportion to the depth of mind from which it issued, so high does it soar, so long does it sing. * * *

Each age, it is found, must write its own books; or rather, each generation for the next succeeding. The books of an older period will not fit this.

Yet hence arises a grave mischief. The sacredness which attaches to the act of creation,—the act of thought,—is instantly transferred to the record. * * * The sluggish and perverted mind of the multitude, always slow to open to the incursions of Reason, having once so opened, having once received this book, stands upon it, and makes an outcry, if it is disparaged. Colleges are built on it. Books are written on it by thinkers, not by Man Thinking. * * *

This is bad; this is worse than it seems. Books are the best of things, well used; abused, among the worst. What is the right use? What is the one end which all means go to effect? They are for nothing but to inspire. * * * The discerning will read in his Plato or Shakespeare, only that least part,—only the authentic utterances of the oracle,—and all the rest he rejects, were it never so many times Plato's and Shakespeare's.

Of course, there is a portion of reading quite indispensable to a wise man. History and exact science he must learn by laborious reading. Colleges, in like manner, have their indispensable office,—to teach elements. But they can only highly serve us, when they aim not to drill, but to create; when they gather from far every ray of various genius to their hospitable halls, and, by the concentrated fires, set the hearts of their youth on flame. Thought and knowledge are natures in which apparatus and pretension avail nothing. Gowns, and pecuniary foundations, though of towns of gold, can never countervail the least sentence or syllable of wit. Forget this, and our American colleges will recede in their public importance whilst they grow richer every year.

III. There goes in the world a notion that the scholar should be a recluse, a valetudinarian,—as unfit for any handiwork or public labor, as a penknife for an axe. The so called "practical men" sneer at speculative men, as if, because they speculate or see, they could do nothing. * * * Action is with the scholar subordinate, but it is essential. Without it, he is not yet man. Without it, thought can never ripen into truth. Whilst the world hangs before the eye as a cloud of beauty, we can not even see its beauty. Inaction is cowardice, but there can be no scholar without the heroic mind. The preamble of thought, the transition through which it passes from the unconscious to the conscious, is action. Only so much do I know, as I have lived.***

But I have dwelt perhaps tediously upon this abstraction of the Scholar. I ought not to delay longer to add what I have to say, of nearer reference to the time and to this country.

Historically, there is thought to be a difference in the ideas which predominate over successive epochs, and there are data for marking the genius of the Classic, of the Romantic, and now of the Reflective or Philosophical age. With the views I have intimated of the oneness or the identity of the mind through all individuals, I do not much dwell on these differences. * * *

If there is any period one would desire to be born in,—is it not the age of Rev-

olution; when the old and the new stand side by side, and admit of being compared; when the energies of all men are searched by fear and by hope; when the historic glories of the old, can be compensated by the rich possibilities of the new era? This time, like all times, is a very good one, if we but know what to do with it.

I read with joy some of the auspicious signs of the coming days as they glimmer already through poetry and art, through philosophy and science, through church and state.

One of these signs is the fact that the same movement which effected the elevation of what was called the lowest class in the state, assumed in literature a very marked and as benign an aspect. Instead of the sublime and beautiful, the near, the low, the common, was explored and poetised. That which had been negligently trodden under foot by those who were harnessing and provisioning themselves for long journeys into far countries, is suddenly found to be richer than all foreign parts. The literature of the poor, the feelings of the child, the philosophy of the street, the meaning of household life, are the topics of the time. It is a great stride. It is a sign—is it not? of new vigor, when the extremities are made active, when currents of warm life run into the hands and the feet. I ask not for the great, the remote, the romantic; what is doing in Italy or Arabia; what is Greek art, or Provencal Minstrelsy; I embrace the common, I explore and sit at the feet of the familiar, the low. Give me insight into today, and you may have the antique and future worlds.*** Let me see every trifle bristling with the polarity that ranges it instantly on an eternal law; and the shop, the plough, and the ledger, referred to the like cause by which light undulates and poets sing;—and the world lies no longer a dull miscellany and lumber room, but has form and order; there is no trifle; there is no puzzle; but one design unites and animates the farthest pinnacle and the lowest trench.***

Another sign of our times, also marked by an analogous political movement is, the new importance given to the single person. Every thing that tends to insulate the individual,—to surround him with barriers of natural respect, so that each man shall feel the world is his, and man shall treat with man as a sovereign state with a sovereign state;—tends to true union as well as greatness. "I learned," said the melancholy Pestalozzi, "that no man in God's wide earth is either willing or able to help any other man." Help must come from the bosom alone. The scholar is that man who must take up into himself all the ability of the time, all the contributions of the past, all the hopes of the future. He must be a university of knowledges. If there be one lesson more than another which should pierce his ear, it is, The world is nothing, the man is all; in yourself is the law of all nature, and you know not yet how a globule of sap ascends; in yourself slumbers the whole of Reason; it is for you to know all, it is for you to dare all.*** This confidence in the unsearched might of man, belongs by all motives, by all prophecy, by all preparation, to the American Scholar. We have listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe. The spirit of the American freeman is already suspected to be timid, imitative, tame. Public and private avarice make the air we breathe thick and fat. The scholar is decent, indolent, complaisant. See already the tragic consequence. The mind of this country taught to aim at low objects, eats upon itself. There is no work for any but the decorous and the complaisant. Young men of the fairest promise, who begin life upon our shores, inflated by the mountain winds, shined upon by all the stars of God, find the earth below not in unison with these,—but are hindered from action by the disgust which the principles on which business is managed inspire, and turn drudges, or die of disgust,—some of them suicides. What is the remedy? They did not yet see, and thousands of young men as hopeful now crowding to the

barriers for the career, do not yet see, that if the single man plant himself indomitably on his instincts, and there abide, the huge world will come round to him. Patience—patience;—with the shades of all the good and great for company; and for solace, the perspective of your own infinite life; and for work, the study and the communication of principles, the making those instincts prevalent, the conversion of the world. Is it not the chief disgrace in the world, not to be an unit;—not to be reckoned one character;—not to yield that peculiar fruit which each man was created to bear, but to be reckoned in the gross, in the hundred, or the thousand, of the party, the section, to which we belong; and our opinion predicted geographically, as the north, or the south. Not so, brothers and friends,—please God, ours shall not be so. We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds. Then shall man be no longer a name for pity, for doubt, and for sensual indulgence. The dread of man and the love of man shall be a wall of defence and a wreath of love around all. A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men.

THE REPUBLIC AND THE SCHOOL: The Education of Free Men

By Horace Mann (1846)

As Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education from 1837 to 1848, Horace Mann prepared 12 annual reports that have since become landmarks in American educational history. The excerpt below was taken from his tenth report.

I believe in the existence of a great, immutable principle of natural law, or natural ethics,—a principle antecedent to all human institutions and incapable of being abrogated by any ordinances of man,—a principle of divine origin, clearly legible in the ways of Providence as those ways are manifested in the order of nature and in the history of the race—which proves the absolute right of every human being that comes into the world to an education; and which, of course, proves the correlative duty of every government to see that the means of that education are provided for all.

In regard to the application of this principle of natural law,—that is, in regard to the extent of the education to be provided for all, at the public expense,—some differences of opinion may fairly exist, under different political organizations; but under a republican government, it seems clear that the minimum of this education can never be less than such as is sufficient to qualify each citizen for the civil and social duties he will be called to discharge;—such an education as teaches the individual the great laws of bodily health; as qualifies for the fulfillment of parental duties; as is indispensable for the civil functions of a witness or a juror; as is necessary for the voter in municipal affairs; and finally, for the faithful and conscientious discharge of all those duties which devolve upon the inheritor of a portion of the sovereignty of this great republic.

The will of God, as conspicuously manifested in the order of nature, and in the relations which he has established among men, places the right of every child that is born into the world to such a degree of education as will enable him, and, as far as possible, will predispose him, to perform all domestic, social, civil and moral duties, upon the same clear ground of natural law and equity, as it places a child's right, upon his first coming into the world, to distend his lungs with a portion of the common air, or to open his eyes to the common light, or to receive that shelter, protection and nourishment which are necessary to the continuance of his bodily existence.

REPLY TO PRESIDENT'S VETO OF LAND-GRANT BILL

By Justin Smith Morrill (1859)

Justin Smith Morrill served in the House of Representatives for 12 years and in the Senate for 31. A Republican from Vermont, he had a deep feeling for American education. In 1858 he first introduced his Land-Grant Bill in the House. It passed the following year, only to be vetoed by President Buchanan. Morrill denounced the veto, but Congress refused to override. It was a temporary defeat for Morrill—who would later see the bill signed into law by President Lincoln. Here are excerpts from Representative Morrill's remarks on the Buchanan veto.

The measure was not introduced here as a party measure, nor was it advocated as a party measure. It has received the cordial support of members of both sides of this House. It fought its own way on its own merits. It has been pressed here by petitions and resolutions from the Legislatures of at least thirteen States, and by an indefinite number of memorials from private citizens of the highest character. It is a measure which has been indorsed by agricultural societies and agricultural men throughout the whole country, with unprecedented unanimity. It is a measure dear to the hearts of all farmers, young and old. It would have been approved by all the earlier Presidents, and was especially dear to the heart of Washington, and occupied his last thought. I will again quote from his last message:

"It will not be doubted that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity, this task becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more-an object of public patronage. Institutions for promoting it grow up, supported by the public purse; and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety?"

Yet while the President assumes to be the representative, par excellence, of the farmers, taxpayers, and consumers of the country, he comes here to strike down the only measure, perhaps, which was proposed especially for their benefit. In my judgment, the President has committed, if not a crime, at least a blunder.***

If I understand the reading, the President asserts that if this bill passes, it will deprive the Treasury of all revenue from the public lands for the next fiscal year. This is a great error.***

The President objects to this bill because he wants to keep the State governments and the General Government separate. Well, sir, this measure by no means combines the State governments and the General Government. It especially leaves the whole matter to the entire control of the several States to arrange, manage, and control, as they may see fit. The States were to be trustees merely for a certain and specific object.***

The President wholly mistakes the object of the bill, which was to offer free tuition to the boys of farmers and mechanics—not to enrich corporations and endow professorships—and to enable them, by their own industry, to acquire what might not otherwise be within their reach—a liberal education. If it be a satisfaction to the President to have thwarted such an object, I hardly think it will be highly appreciated; and especially not by those whose hopes are thus destroyed. The telegraphic news of this veto will start a tear from the eye of more than one boy, whose ambition will now be nipped in the bud. One great object was to arrest the degenerate and downward system of agriculture by which American soil is rapidly obtaining the rank of the poorest and least productive on the globe, and to give to farmers and mechanics that prestige and standing in life which liberal culture and the recognition of the Government might afford. To all this the President turns a deaf ear.

Mr. Speaker, the Constitution gives to Congress the unreserved and unrestricted power to "dispose of" the public lands.*** Like a prudent proprietor, we adopt a policy to increase the value of the whole landed property of the country. The bill expressly demands a full and proper consideration. That consideration is, that the several States shall establish these colleges, "where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific or classical studies, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." If this were done, there can be no doubt the interests of the country, the benefits to accrue, would be fifty-fold greater than any sum which would be abstracted from the Treasury.***

We have heretofore very properly, in our legislation pertaining to new States and Territories, granted one or two sections of land, in each township, for the especial purpose of establishing schools. This bill is nothing more than a pursuance of the same policy, and was a fit complement of the system. Many literary universities had already been established with the approval of James Buchanan, who, with many other distinguished Democrats, voted for the deaf and dumb school, endowed by Congress, in Kentucky, in 1827. If we can legislate for the deaf and dumb, may we not legislate for those who can hear and speak? If we can legislate for the insane, may we not legislate for the sane? We have granted lands for railroad purposes, for military services, and we have granted lands to the several States for the promotion of health; that is, we have granted to the States the swamp and overflowed lands within their limits. Now, sir, if we can grant lands for the promotion of physical health, can we not grant them for the purpose of promoting the moral health and education of the people? We granted seven hundred and fifty thousand acres of land for the benefit of the Sault Ste. Marie canal, and also other large grants for canals. Well, sir, if we can grant lands for the benefit of commerce, trade, military service, and health, cannot we grant them for other purposes? Cannot we grant them for education, and for the education of the great mass of the country; and a class, too, which has received no special benefit from any act of Congress?

THEORY OF EDUCATION

By William Torrey Harris (1870)

Nineteen years before he became fourth U. S. Commissioner of Education, William T. Harris authored a paper that retains profound significance in the development of American educational thought. In it, he describes some unique strengths that elevate our system from the older European models from which it derives. His theory: if we give the student the tools of thought, he may be trusted to pursue his course for himself.

Freedom begins with making one's nature, and not with mere unconscious habit. Out of the savage state man ascends by making himself new natures, one above the other; he realizes his ideas in institutions, and finds in these ideal worlds his real home and his true nature.

The state of nature is the savage state. The state of human nature only exists as a product of culture. The world of nature in time and space exists for man or human nature, on condition that he have intelligence and skill to use it. The natural man who has not ascended above nature and become its master, is more unfortunate and unhappy than the brute. To achieve his destiny, to become aught that is distinctively human, he must be able to combine with his fellow men and sum up the results of the race in each individual. First there is practical combination—civil society organizing in such a manner that each man reaps the united effort of the entire community: the laborer who earns his dollar for the day's work being able to purchase therewith one dollar's worth of any or all the productions that human labor has wrought out. This kind of combination, whereby man lifts himself above himself as an individual (and to that extent transcends his mere finiteness), permits you and me to pursue quietly our vocations, and yet enjoy the fruition of the labor of the world.*** Combination secures not only the participation in all products on the part of each: it secures that division of labor which results in the highest skill of elaboration.

But practical combination is not all nor indeed the chief item of importance in the elevation of man.

There is theoretical combination—the scholar by diligent study and much deep thinking being able to master for himself, one by one, the great thoughts that have ruled the world-history. The scientific solutions and generalizations relating to the great problems of human life—these are preserved in books, and each man, woman and child may partake; for in this realm too, all is for each, and each for all. The great Sphinx of nature has sat before man and asked him questions, looking up at him with quiet, stony looks, until despair has forced from him the solution, or else driven him to death. For every solution in the shape of scientific discovery, or ethical maxim, has been wrought out only through grimmest toil and sweat.

But the participation of each in the labors of all is far more perfect in the theoretical sphere than in the material or practical sphere. For what one eats up or wears out, perishes in the using; but thought, ideas, principles, the products of spirit, INCREASE in the using. When you have a new thought, and your neighbor is made

the wiser for your imparting it to him, the new truth has two sources of emanation in place of one as before. Instead of being the poorer for having parted with the exclusive possession of your truth, you really are richer; for by explaining your doctrine to others you learn to understand it better yourself. This second mode of combination is therefore better than the first.

These two forms of combination—the practical and the theoretical—are the modes in which man the animal becomes man the spirit, and each individual becomes a conscious participant of the life of the entire race.

It is not necessary for each member of the human family to repeat in detail the experiments of all his predecessors, for their results descend to him by the system of combination in which he lives, and by education he acquires them. With these he may stand on the top of the ladder of human culture, and build a new round to it so that his children after him may climb higher and do the like.

The mere animal, lacking the power of generalization, cannot amass experience; but strictly confined to the dreamy life of the senses, and never rising to the region of abstract ideas, each individual animal matures and dies. Only the species lives on; there is no immortality for the individual animal. It requires a being who can combine in himself the product of his entire species by his individual activity—just as man can—to fulfill the conditions of immortality.

EDUCATION, as embracing this form of active combination with the race, characterizes human nature and distinguishes it from animal nature. By it man is a progressive being, and his progress consists in subordinating the material world to his use, and freeing himself from the hard limits that hem in all natural beings.***

The plausibility of all abstract systems, like those we have been discussing, lies in the fact that education must start with the natural, the ignorant, the raw material. But its business is to elevate the individual out of this state of nature as quickly and effectually as possible. From animal instincts and sensibilities, enthralled by his physical necessities, he must be raised to the status of a reasonable being, who looks before and after, and subordinates all nature to the service of spirit.

Education must elaborate its appliances so as to take firm hold of the pupil. Object lessons to strengthen the attention of the new beginner, conversations and stories, pictures and games—all these have their place in any complete system of pedagogy. The mistake lies in their too great expansion, a danger very imminent in our own rapid intellectual growth.***

Education should excite in the most ready way the powers of the pupil to self-activity. Not what the teacher does for him, but what he is made to do for himself, is of value. Although this lies at the bottom of other national ideas, it is not so explicitly recognized as in our own. It is in an embryonic state in those; in ours it has unfolded and realized itself so that we are everywhere and always impelled by it to throw responsibility on the individual. Hence, our theory is: the sooner we can make the youth able to pursue his course of culture for himself, the sooner may we graduate him from the school. To give him the tools of thought is our province. When we have initiated him into the technique of learning, he may be trusted to pursue his course for himself.

Herein is the cause why university education is not so prominent here as in Europe. It is a frequent remark, that we are behind Europe in this respect. It is not denied that we have scholars who deserve respect, but we are told that they do not resort to universities. Nor should they. It is not what we attempt to do here. We do not isolate our cultured class from the rest. It is our idea to have culture open to every one in all occupations of life. Elihu Burritt may learn fifty languages at the anvil. Benjamin Franklin may study Locke, make experiments in electricity, master

the art of diplomacy. These are self-taught men, and the self-taught man is our type;—not the man who wastes his life experimenting to learn what is already known and published, but the man who reads and informs himself on all themes, and digests his knowledge into practice as he goes along. A culture for its own sake is a noble inspiration, and it is well to have it advocated at all times. But a culture belonging to a class that rests like an upper layer upon the mass below, who in turn have to dig and spin for them, is not the American ideal—not at all, even if we do not produce men who devote their whole lives to the dative case, or to the Greek particles. And yet it is the faith of Americans that they will be able to accomplish all that any other civilization can do, besides adding thereto a culture in free individuality to an extent hitherto unattained. A civilization wherein all can partake in the subjugation of the elements, and possess a competence at such easy terms as to leave the greater part of life for higher culture, is the goal to which every American confidently looks.

The common man shall be rich in conquests over the material world of Time and Space, and not only this but over the world of mind, the heritage of culture, the realized intelligence of all mankind.***

Thus it is that the period of school education is so much more important in America than elsewhere. As a simple creature of habit—with such education as one derives from the family nurture alone—a man stands a poor chance of being highly valued here. Only in proportion to his directive power, is he likely to obtain recognition. We can make a machine that will perform mere mechanical labor—one steam engine can do the work of a thousand men. The activity of our citizens is perforce turned into higher channels. The workman in his shop is known to be an American by his quick comprehension of the machinery over which he is placed. He studies not only to improve the product, but to improve the machine that makes the product. It is the age of comprehension. The back-woodsman can read Plato and Aristotle—it has been done by him. The mechanic can master La Place and Newton. It has been done. Even an American lady, resident in Lowell, Massachusetts, threaded all the intricate mazes of La Place's Mechanique Celeste. What lofty

goals beckon on the American youth! What teachers we need for the work of their instruction! Not the cramping, formalistic pedants who stifle all enthusiasm in the souls of their pupils, but true living teachers are needed.

The model teacher is a student himself, and because he is growing himself, he kindles in his pupils the spirit of growth— free from narrow prejudices, his very atmosphere disenthralls the youth entrusted to his charge. Animated by a lofty faith, all his pupils reflect his steadfastness and earnestness, and learn the great lesson of industry and self-reliance—thus preparing themselves for the life of free men in a free state.

DECLARATION ON INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

By Daniel Coit Gilman (1875)

No university is worthy of the name if it is "devoted to any other purpose than the discovery and promulgation of the truth," wrote Daniel Coit Gilman to the organizers of Johns Hopkins University in 1875. Gilman's declaration appears in the official minutes of the Johns Hopkins University Trustees.

The institution we are about to organize would not be worthy the name of a University, if it were to be devoted to any other purpose than the discovery and promulgation of the truth; and it would be ignoble in the extreme if the resources which have been given by the Founder without restrictions should be limited to the maintenance of ecclesiastical differences or perverted to the promotion of political strife.

As the spirit of the University should be that of intellectual freedom in the pursuit of truth and of the broadest charity toward those from whom we differ in opinion it is certain that sectarian and partisan preferences should have no control in the selection of teachers, and should not be apparent in their official work.

Permit me to add that in a life devoted chiefly to the advancement of education I have found some of the best cooperators among those from who I differed on ecclesiastical & political questions; and that I shall find it easy to work in Maryland with all the enlightened advocates and promoters of science and culture. To those who will labor for The Johns Hopkins University, my grateful and cordial appreciation will go forth. We should hope that the Faculty soon to be chosen will be so catholic in spirit, so learned as to what has been discovered and so keen to explore new fields of research; so skillful as teachers; so co-operative as builders; and so comprehensive in the specialties to which they are devoted,—that pupils will flock to their instruction, first from Maryland and the states near to it,—but soon also from the remotest parts of the land. In seeking this result the Board may rely on my most zealous co-operation.

STATE SCHOOLS AND PARISH SCHOOLS—IS UNION BETWEEN THEM IMPOSSIBLE?

By Archbishop John Ireland, Minnesota (1890)

The problem of religion and the public schools has been a burning one in American education for more than a century. In 1890, at the National Education Association convention in St. Paul, Archbishop John Ireland warned of the dangers of secularism, appealed for interfaith cooperation, and foreshadowed the principle of shared time.

I will beg leave to make at once my profession of faith. I declare most unbounded loyalty to the constitution of my country. I desire no favors. I claim no rights that are not in consonance with its letter and its spirit. The rights which the constitution allows I do claim, and in doing so I am but the truer and more loyal American. In what I may say to this distinguished audience, the principles of our common American citizenship shall inspire my words. I beg that you listen to me and discuss my arguments in the light of those principles.

I am the friend and the advocate of the state school. In the circumstances of the present time I uphold the parish school. I do sincerely wish that the need of it did not exist. I would have all schools for the children of the people state schools.

The accusation has gone abroad that Catholics are bent on destroying the state school. Never was there an accusation more unfounded. I will summarize the articles of my school creed; they follow all the lines upon which the state school is built.

The right of the state school to exist, I consider, is a matter beyond the stage of discussion. I most fully concede it. To the child must be imparted instruction in no mean degree, that the man may earn for himself an honest competence, and acquit himself of the duties which society exacts from him for its own prosperity and life. This proposition, true in any country of modern times, is peculiarly true in America. The imparting of this instruction is primarily the function of the child's parent. The family is prior to the state. The appointment of Providence is that under the care and direction of the parent, the child shall grow both in body and in mind. The state intervenes whenever the family cannot or will not do the work that is needed. The state's place in the function of instruction is loco parentis. As things are, tens of thousands of children will not be instructed if parents remain solely in charge of the duty. The state must come forward as an agent of instruction; else ignorance will prevail. Indeed, in the absence of state action, there never was that universal instruction which we have so nearly attained and which we deem necessary. In the absence of state action I believe universal instruction would never, in any country, have been possible.

State action in favor of instruction implies free schools in which knowledge is conditioned in the asking; in no other manner can we bring instruction within the reach of all children. Free schools! Blest indeed is the nation whose vales and hill-

sides they adorn, and blest the generations upon whose souls are poured their treasure! No tax is more legitimate than that which is levied for the dispelling of mental darkness, and the building-up within a nation's bosom of intelligent manhood and womanhood. The question may not be raised: how much good accrues to the individual tax-payer; the general welfare is richly served, and this suffices. It is scarcely necessary to add that the money paid in school tax is the money of the state, and is to be disbursed solely by the officials of the state, and solely for the specific purposes in view of which it was collected.

I unreservedly favor state laws making instruction compulsory. Instruction is so much needed by each citizen for his own sake and for that of society that the father who neglects to provide for his child's instruction sins against the child and against society, and it behooves the state to punish him. Of course, first principles must not be forgotten, and since instruction is primarily the function of the parent, the state entering into action loco parentis, the parent enjoys the right to educate his child in the manner suitable to himself; provided always that the education given in this manner suffices for the ulterior duties of the child toward himself and society. Compulsory education implies attendance in schools maintained and controlled by the state only when there is no attendance in other schools known to be competent to impart instruction in the required degree. The compulsory laws recently enacted in certain States of the Union are, to my judging, objectionable in a few of their incidental clauses. These, I am confident, will readily be altered in approaching legislative sessions. With the body of the laws, and their general intent in the direction of hastening among us universal instruction, I am in most hearty accord.

It were idle for me to praise the work of the state school of America in the imparting of secular instruction. We all confess its value. It is our pride and our glory. The republic of the United States has solemnly affirmed its resolve that within its borders no clouds of ignorance shall settle upon the minds of the children of its people. To reach this result its generosity knows no limit. The free school of America—withered be the hand raised in sign of its destruction!

Can I be suspected of enmity to the state school because I fain would widen the expanse of its wings until all the children of the people find shelter beneath their cover, because I tell of defects which for very love of the state school I seek to remedy?

I turn to the parish school. It exists. I repeat my regret that there is the necessity for its existence. In behalf of the state school I call upon my fellow-Americans to aid in the removal of this necessity.

Catholics are foremost in establishing parish schools. Seven hundred and fifty thousand children, it is estimated, are educated in their parish schools. A lack of material means prevents them from housing their full number of children. Lutherans exhibit great zeal in favor of parish schools. Many Episcopalians, and some in different other Protestant denominations, commend and organize parish schools. The different denominational colleges of the country are practically parish schools for the children of the richer classes. The spirit of the parish school, if not the school itself, is widespread among American Protestant, and is made manifest by their determined opposition to the exclusion of Scripture-reading and other devotional exercises from the school-room.

There is dissatisfaction with the state school, as at present organized. The state school, it is said, tends to the elimination of religion from the minds and hearts of the youth of the country.

This is my grievance against the state school of to-day. Believe me, my Protestant

fellow-citizens, that I am absolutely sincere, when I now declare that I am speaking for the weal of Protestantism as well as for that of Catholicism. I am a Catholic, of course, to the tiniest fiber of my heart, unflinching and uncompromising in my faith. But God forbid that I desire to see in America the ground which Protestantism occupies exposed to the chilling and devastating blast of unbelief. Let me be your ally in stemming the swelling tide of irreligion, the death-knell of Christian life and of Christian civilization, the fatal foe of souls and of country. This is what we have to fear—the materialism which sees not beyond the universe a living, personal God, or the agnosticism which reduces him to an indescribable perhaps. The evil is abroad, scorning salvation through the teaching and graces of Christ Jesus, sneering at the Biblical page, warring upon the sacredness of the Christian Sabbath and the music of its church-bells, telling of Heaven and of the hopes of immortal souls. Let us be on our guard. In our jealousies lest Protestants gain some advantage over Catholics, or Catholics over Protestants, we play into the hands of unbelievers and secularists. We have given over to them the school, the nursery of thought. Are we not securing to them the mastery of the future?

The state school is non-religious. It ignores religion. There is and there can be no positive religious teaching where the principle of non-sectarianism rules. What follows? The school deals with immature, childish minds, upon which silent facts and examples make deepest impression. The school claims nearly all the time remaining to pupils outside of rest and recreation; to the school they will perforce amid the struggles of later life look back for inspiration. It treats of land and sea, but not of Heaven; it speaks of statesmen and warriors, but is silent on God and Christ; it tells how to attain success in this world, but says nothing as to the world beyond the grave. The pupil sees and listens; the conclusion is inevitable, that religion is of minor importance. Religious indifference will be his creed; his manhood will be, as his childhood in the school, estranged from God and the positive influences of religion. The brief and hurried lessons of the family fireside and the Sunday school will not avail. At best, the time is too short for that most difficult of lessons, religion. The child is tired from the exacting drill of the schoolroom, and will not relish an extra task, of the necessity of which the teacher, in whom he confides most trustingly, has said nothing. The great mass of children receive no fireside lessons, and attend no Sunday school, and the great mass of the children of America are growing up without religion. Away with theories and dreams: let us read the facts. In ten thousand homes of the land the father hastens to his work in the early dawn before his children have risen from their slumbers, and in the evening an exhausted frame bids him seek at once repose, with scarcely time allowed to kiss his little ones. The mother toils from morning to night, that they may eat and be clothed; it is mockery to ask her to be their teacher. What may you expect from the Sunday school? An hour in the week to learn religion is as nothing, and only the small number will be present during that hour. The churches are open and teachers are at hand, but the non-religious school has claimed the attention and the hard work of the child during five days of the week; he is unwilling to submit to the drudgery of a further hour's work on Sunday. Accidentally, and unintentionally, it may be, but, in fact, most certainly, the state school crowds out the work of the church, and takes from it the opportunities to secure a hearing. The state need not teach religion; but for the sake of its people, and for its own sake, it should permit and facilitate the action of the church. It hinders and prevents this action. The children of the masses are learning no religion. The religion of thousands, who are supposed to be religious, is the merest veneering of mind and heart. Its doctrines are vaguest and most chaotic notions as to what God is, and what our relations to Him

are. Very often it is mere sentimentality, and its precepts are the decorous rulings of natural culture and natural policy. This is not the religion that built up in the past our Christian civilization, and that will maintain it in the future. This is not the religion that will subjugate passion and repress vice. It is not the religion that will guard the family and save society.

Let the state look to itself. The mind which it polishes is a two-edged sword—an instrument for good or an instrument for evil. It were fatal to polish it without the assurance that in all likelihood it shall be an instrument for good.

I come to the chief difficulty in the premises. The American people at large are Christians; but they are divided among themselves. Yes, they are divided. Not to speak of other differences, there is a radical and vital one between Protestantism of all forms and Catholicism. I am not arguing. I am relating facts. Well-meaning and well-deserving men have proposed as a remedy in this instance, that there be taught in connection with the schools a common Christianity. This will not do. Catholics in fidelity to their principles cannot accept a common Christianity. What comes to them not bearing on its face the stamp of Catholicity, is Protestant in form and in implication, even if it be Catholic in substance. This being the settled fact, American Catholics will not, of course, inflict Catholicism upon non-Catholic or Protestant children, and with similar fair-mindedness American Protestants will not inflict Protestantism upon Catholic children. Some compromise becomes necessary. Is it not ten thousand times better that we make the compromise rather than allow secularism to triumph and own the country?

I turn to all Americans—secularists as well as Christian believers—and I address them in the name of American citizenship. We are a practical people, and when we find facts before us, whether we like or dislike them, we deal with them with an eye to the general good. Dissatisfaction does exist with the state school because of

its exclusion of religion. The dissatisfaction will exist so long as no change is made. It is founded on conscience.

Is not the fact of this dissatisfaction sufficient that Americans set to work earnestly and with a good will to remove its cause? The welfare of the country demands peace and harmony among citizens. Let us put an end to the constant murmurings and bitter recriminations with which our school war fills the air. Since we are proud of our state school and prize its advantages, let us make an effort that all the children of the people enjoy those advantages. If there be a public institution, as the state school, supported by all the people, avowedly for the benefit of all the people, let it be such that all may use it. Be there no taxation without representation in the enjoyment of the benefits thereof. Let us most studiously avoid raising barriers to the use of those benefits, and, in a most especial manner, such barriers that the opposition to them comes in the name of conscience.

I invoke the spirit of American liberty and American institutions. Our views, perhaps, differ diametrically from those of others of our fellow-citizens; we may deem their views utterly wrong. Still, is not the duty of Americans that of peace and concession, so that others be as undisturbed in their conscience as we are in ours? Does it matter that we happen to be in the majority? Brute numerical force may be legal; it is not justice, it is not the spirit of America. Minorities have rights, and as speedily as it is possible with the public weal should the majority recognize them. It is no honor to America that ten millions or more be compelled by law to pay taxes for the support of schools to which their conscience forbids access, and to be furthermore, in order to be conscientious, compelled by their zeal for the instruction of their children, to build school-houses of their own, and pay their own teachers. It is no honor for the remaining fifty millions to profit for themselves of the taxes paid by the ten millions. The cry that the state schools are open to them if they silence their consciences, is not a defense that will hold before the bar of justice. The aspect of the case is the more serious when we consider that those ten millions are largely among the poorer classes of the population, and that they are sincerely and loyally desirous to obtain the benefits of the state school, if only the obstacles be removed.

It is no honor to the American republic that she be more than any other nation foremost in efforts to divorce religion from the schools. No country goes in this direction so far as ours. We have entered upon a terrible experiment; the very life of our civilization and of our country is at stake. I know not how to account for this condition of things, passing strange in America. Neither the genius of our country nor its history gives countenance to it. The American people are naturally reverent and religious. Their laws and public observances breathe forth the perfume of religion. The American school, as it first reared its long walls amid the villages of New England, was religious through and through. The present favor to a non-religious school is, I verily believe, the thoughtlessness of a moment, and it will not last.

I solve the difficulty by submitting it to the calm judgment of the country. No question is insoluble to Americans which truth and justice press home to them. Other countries, whose civilization we do not despise, have found a solution. I instance but England and Prussia. We are not inferior to them in practical legislation and the spirit of peaceful compromise. Suggestions of mine must be necessarily crude in form, and local and temporary in application. I will, however, speak them. I would permeate the regular state school with the religion of the majority of the children of the land, be it as Protestant as Protestantism can be, and I would, as they do in England, pay for the secular instruction given in denominational schools

according to results; that is, each pupil passing the examination before state officials, and in full accordance with the state program, would secure to his school the cost of the tuition of a pupil in the state school. This is not paying for the religious instruction given to the pupil, but for the secular instruction demanded by the state, and given to the pupil as thoroughly as he could have received it in the state school.

Another plan: I would do as Protestants and Catholics in Poughkeepsie and other places in our own country have agreed to do to the greatest satisfaction of all citizens and the great advancement of educational interests. In Poughkeepsie the city school board rents the buildings formerly used as parish schools, and from the hour of 9 a.m. to that of 3 p.m. the school is in every particular a state school—teachers engaged and paid by the board, teachers and pupils examined, state books used, the door always open to superintendent and members of the board. There is simply the tacit understanding that so long as the teachers in those schools, Catholic in faith, pass their examinations and do their work as cleverly and as loyally as other teachers under the control of the board, teachers of another faith shall not be put in their places. Nor are they allowed to teach positive religion *during school hours*. This is done outside the hours for which the buildings are leased to the board. The state, it is plain, pays not one cent for the religious instruction of the pupils. In the other schools Protestant devotional exercises take place in fullest freedom before the usual school hour.

Do not tell me of difficulties of detail in the working out of either of my schemes. There are difficulties; but will not the result be fullest compensation for the struggle to overcome them? Other schemes, more perfect in conception and easier of application, will perhaps be presented in time; meanwhile, let us do as best we know.

Allow me one word as a Catholic. I have sought to place on the precise line where it belongs, the objection of Catholics to the state school. Is it fair, is it honest, to raise the cry that Catholics are opposed to education, to free schools, to the American school system? I do lose my patience when adversaries seek to place us in this false position, so contrary to all our convictions and resolves. In presence of this vast and distinguished assembly, to have addressed which is an honor I shall never forget, I protest with all the energy of my soul against the charge that the schools of the nation have their enemies among Catholics. Not one stone of the wondrous edifice which Americans have built up in their devotion to education, will Catholics remove or permit to be removed. They would fain add to the splendor and majesty by putting side by side religion and the school, neither interfering with the work of the other, each one borrowing from the other aid and dignity. Do the schools of America fear contact with religion? The Catholics demand the Christian state school. In so doing they prove themselves the truest friends of the school and the state.

ARTICLE V—THE SCHOOL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

By John Dewey (1897)

In 1897, John Dewey enunciated his theory on the nature, purpose, and progress of education. This section on "The School and Social Progress" is taken from Dewey's statement entitled "My Pedagogic Creed."

I believe that education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform.

I believe that all reforms which rest simply upon the enactment of law, or the threatening of certain penalties, or upon changes in mechanical or outward arrangements, are transitory and futile.

I believe that education is a regulation of the process of coming to share in the social consciousness; and that the adjustment of individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness is the only sure method of social reconstruction.

I believe that this conception has due regard for both the individualistic and socialistic ideals. It is duly individual because it recognizes the formation of a certain character as the only genuine basis of right living. It is socialistic because it recognizes that this right character is not to be formed by merely individual precept, example, or exhortation, but rather by the influence of a certain form of institutional or community life upon the individual, and that the social organism through the school, as its organ, may determine ethical results.

I believe that in the ideal school we have the reconciliation of the individualistic and the institutional ideals.

I believe that the community's duty to education is, therefore, its paramount moral duty. By law and punishment, by social agitation and discussion, society can regulate and form itself in a more or less haphazard and chance way. But through education society can formulate its own purposes, can organize its own means and resources, and thus shape itself with definiteness and economy in the direction in which it wishes to move.

I believe that when society once recognizes the possibilities in this direction, and the obligations which these possibilities impose, it is impossible to conceive of the resources of time, attention, and money which will be put at the disposal of the educator.

I believe that it is the business of every one interested in education to insist upon the school as the primary and most effective interest of social progress and reform in order that society may be awakened to realize what the school stands for, and aroused to the necessity of endowing the educator with sufficient equipment properly to perform his task.

I believe that education thus conceived marks the most perfect and intimate union of science and art conceivable in human experience.

I believe that the art of thus giving shape to human powers and adapting them to social service, is the supreme art; one calling into its service the best of artists; that no insight, sympathy, tact, executive power, is too great for such service.

I believe that with the growth of psychological service, giving added insight into individual structure and laws of growth; and with growth of social science, adding to our knowledge of the right organization of individuals, all scientific resources can be utilized for the purposes of education.

I believe that when science and art thus join hands the most commanding motive for human action will be reached; the most genuine springs of human conduct aroused and the best service that human nature is capable of guaranteed.

I believe, finally, that the teacher is engaged, not simply in the training of individuals, but in the formation of the proper social life.

I believe that every teacher should realize the dignity of his calling; that he is a social servant set apart for the maintenance of proper social order and the securing of the right social growth.

I believe that in this way the teacher always is the prophet of the true God and the usherer in of the true kingdom of God.

FIVE EVIDENCES OF AN EDUCATION

By Nicholas Murray Butler (1901)

What are the marks of an educated man? The scholars have debated this since Plato. Few have expressed the matter so well as Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, in 1901.

Who is the educated man? By what signs shall we know him? . . . [Education] will have produced certain traits of intellect and of character which find expression in ways open to the observation of all men, and it is toward these traits or habits, not toward external and substantial acquisition or accomplishment, that one must turn to find the true and sure evidence of an education, as education is conceived to-day.

First among the evidences of an education I name correctness and precision in the use of the mother-tongue.

One's hold upon the English tongue is measured by his choice of words and by his use of idiom. The composite character of modern English offers a wide field for apt and happy choice of expression. The educated man, at home with his mother-tongue, moves easily about in its Saxon, Romanic, and Latin elements, and has gained by long experience and wide reading a knowledge of the mental incidence of words as well as of their artistic effect. He is hampered by no set formulas, but manifests in his speech, spoken and written, the characteristic powers and appreciation of his nature. The educated man is of necessity, therefore, a constant reader of the best written English. He reads not for conscious imitation, but for unconscious absorption and reflection. He knows the wide distinction between correct English on the one hand and pedantic, or as it is sometimes called, "elegant," English on the other. He is more likely to "go to bed" than to "retire," to "get up" than to "arise," to have "legs" rather than "limbs," to "dress" than to "clothe himself," and to "make a speech" rather than to "deliver an oration." He knows that "if you

hear poor English and read poor English, you will pretty surely speak poor English and write poor English," and governs himself accordingly. He realizes the power and place of idiom and its relation to grammar, and shows his skill by preserving a balance between the two in his style.

As a second evidence of an education I name those refined and gentle manners which are the expression of fixed habits of thought and of action. "Manners are behavior and good breeding," as Addison said, but they are more. It is not without significance that the Latin language has but a single word (mores) both for usages, habits, manners, and for morals. Real manners, the manners of a truly educated man or woman, are an outward expression of intellectual and moral conviction. Sham manners are a veneer which falls away at the dampening touch of the first selfish suggestion. Manners have a moral significance, and find their basis in that true and deepest self-respect which is built upon respect for others. An infallible test of character is to be found in one's manners toward those whom, for one reason or another, the world may deem his inferiors. A man's manners toward his equals or his superiors are shaped by too many motives to render their interpretation either easy or certain. Manners do not make the man, but manners reveal the man. It is by the amount of respect, deference, and courtesy shown to human personality as such that we judge whether one is on dress parade or whether he is so well-trained, well-educated, and so habitually ethical in thought and action that he realizes his proper relation to his fellows and reveals his realization in his manners.

As a third evidence of an education I name the power and habit of reflection. It is a frequent charge against us moderns, particularly against Americans, that we are losing the habit of reflection and the high qualities which depend upon it. We are told that this loss is a necessary result of our hurried and busy lives, of our diverse interests, and of the annihilation of space and time by steam and electricity. The whole world and its happenings are brought to our very doors by the daily newspaper. Our attention leaps from Manila to Pekin, from Pekin to the Transvaal, and from the Transvaal to Havana. We are torn by conflicting or unconnected

emotions, and our minds are occupied by ideas following each other with such rapidity that we fail to get a firm and deep hold of any one of the great facts that come into our lives. This is the charge which even sympathetic critics bring against us.

If it be true—and there are some counts in the indictment which it is difficult to deny—then one of the most precious evidences of an education is slipping from us, and we must re-double our efforts to keep fast hold upon it. For an unexamined life, as Socrates unceasingly insisted, is not worth living. The life which asks no questions of itself, which traces events back to no causes and forward to no purposes, which raises no vital issues of principle, and which seeks no interpretation of what passes within and without, is not a human life at all; it is the life of an animal. The trained and the untrained mind are perhaps in sharpest contrast at this very point. An armory of insights and convictions always ready for applications to new conditions, and invincible save by deeper insights and more rational convictions, is a mark of a trained and educated mind. The educated man has standards of truth, of human experience, and of wisdom by which new proposals are judged. These standards can be gained only thru reflection. The undisciplined mind is a prey to every passing fancy and the victim of every plausible doctrinaire. He has no permanent forms of judgment which give him character.

As a fourth evidence of an education I name the power of growth. There is a type of mind which, when trained to a certain point, crystallizes, as it were, and refuses to move forward thereafter. This type of mind fails to give one of the essential evidences of an education. It has perhaps acquired much and promised much; but somehow or other the promise is not fulfilled. It is not dead, but in a trance. Only such functions are performed as serve to keep it where it is; there is no movement, no development, no new power or accomplishment. The impulse to continuous study, and to that self-education which are the conditions of permanent intellectual growth, is wanting. Education has so far failed of one of its chief purposes.

A human mind continuing to grow and to develop thruout a long life is a splendid and impressive sight. Broadened views, widened sympathies, deepened insights, are the accompaniments of growth.

For this growth a many-sided interest is necessary, and this is why growth and intellectual and moral narrowness are eternally at war. There is much in our modern education which is uneducational because it makes growth difficult, if not impossible. Early specialization, with its attendant limited range both of information and of interest, is an enemy of growth. Turning from the distasteful before it is understood is an enemy of growth. Failure to see the relation of the subject of one's special interest to other subjects is an enemy of growth. The pretense of investigation and discovery before mastering existent knowledge is an enemy of growth. The habit of cynical indifference toward men and things and of aloofness from them, sometimes supposed to be peculiarly academic, is an enemy of growth. These, then, are all to be shunned while formal education is going on, if it is to carry with it the priceless gift of an impulse to continuous growth.

And as a fifth evidence of an education I name efficiency, the power to do. The time has long since gone by, if it ever was, when contemplation pure and simple, withdrawal from the world and its activities, or intelligent incompetence was a defensible ideal of education. To-day the truly educated man must be, in some sense, efficient. With brain, tongue, or hand he must be able to express his knowledge and so leave the world other than he found it. Indefinite absorption without production is fatal both to character and to the highest intellectual power. Do some-

thing and be able to do it well; express what you know in some helpful and substantial form; produce, and do not everlastingly feel only and revel in feelings—these are counsels which make for a real education and against that sham form of it which is easily recognized as well-informed incapacity. Our colleges and universities abound in false notions, notions as unscientific as they are unphilosophical, of the supposed value of knowledge, information, for its own sake. It has none. The date of the discovery of America is in itself as meaningless as the date of the birth of the youngest blade of grass in the neighboring field; it means something because it is part of a larger knowledge-whole, because it has relations, applications, uses; and for the student who sees none of these and knows none of them, America was discovered in 1249 quite as much as it was in 1492.

High efficiency is primarily an intellectual affair, and only "longo intervallo" does it take on anything approaching a mechanical form. Its mechanical form is always wholly subordinate to its springs in the intellect. It is the outgrowth of an established and habitual relationship between intellect and will, by means of which knowledge is constantly made power. For knowledge is not power, Bacon to the contrary notwithstanding, unless it is made so, and it can be made so only by him who possesses the knowledge. The habit of making knowledge power is efficiency. Without it education is incomplete.

These five characteristics, then, I offer as evidence of an education—correctness and precision in the use of the mother-tongue; refined and gentle manners, which are the expression of fixed habits of thought and action; the power and habit of reflection; the power of growth; and efficiency, or the power to do.

It is these habits, of necessity made by ourselves alone, begun in the days of school and college, and strengthened with maturer years and broader experience, that serve to show to ourselves and to others that we have discovered the secret of gaining an education.

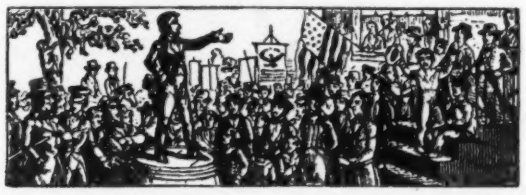
STRATEGY FOR STATE UNIVERSITIES: TWO VIEWS

Inaugural Address of President Charles Richard Van Hise, University of Wisconsin, 1904

As state universities struggled to reach maturity, two of their Presidents declared their faith in the democratic commitment of American higher education and sought to blueprint the duties and responsibilities of their institutions. The first excerpt is from the inaugural address of Charles Van Hise who became President of the University of Wisconsin in 1904 as the university was celebrating its 50th anniversary. The second quotation is from the inaugural speech of Lotus Delta Coffman, the University of Minnesota's fifth President. It was delivered on May 13, 1921.

While the achievements of the past fifty years are sufficiently great for celebration, the ideal of the state university is still more worthy of celebration. A score of years ago it could not have been said of any state in America, that it had shown willingness to support a university of the highest class; but now several state institutions are recognized as standing in the first group among American universities. These institutions are mainly supported through taxation imposed by a democracy upon itself, for the sons and daughters of the state, poor and rich alike. Until this movement of the state universities had developed, the advantages of all educational institutions of the highest rank in all countries had been restricted to one sex, and even now it is practically impossible for the sons of artisans and laborers to enter the doors of many. In state institutions, where education is maintained by the people for the good of the state, no restriction as to class or sex is possible. A state university can only permanently succeed where its doors are open to all of both sexes who possess sufficient intellectual endowment, where the financial terms are so easy that the industrious poor may find the way, and where the student sentiment is such that each stands upon an equal footing with all. This is the state university ideal, and this is a new thing in the world.

The original American college was essentially a counterpart of the English college; indeed, this was true well into the nineteenth century. But, in the second half of that century, important American modifications appeared to better adapt the college to our needs. Perhaps the most important of these was the development of pure science and its assimilation by the college of liberal arts. This radical change met a much more ready welcome in the west than in the east. For a long time in the



east science was regarded as an intruder, and was only slowly and partially admitted to full fellowship with the studies of the old curriculum. When science was finally, grudgingly, given a place in some of the more important institutions, it was made an appendix to the college, and in a number of cases a new name was attached. This is illustrated by the Lawrence and Sheffield Scientific Schools. In the west science did not receive separate foundations, although the courses in which science was the major line of work were at first kept separate from the old course in which the classics and mathematics dominated. A new degree was given for science, which, for many years at least, was regarded as inferior to the A.B. degree. To the present time in some institutions of the east the distinction between work in science and work in the old curriculum is retained; and in one the organization of the college and the scientific school are so nearly independent that the college has introduced science into its courses, thus duplicating much of the work of the school. And in another, where the separate organization of the classical college and the scientific school is more or less formal, different degrees are granted in the college and in the school, without regard to whether the subjects pursued by the students receiving the different degrees are the same or not. In the state universities where the college and school of science were never made separate foundations, and where with the great increase in number of subjects, freedom of election has been introduced, it has become recognized either that there should be a separate degree for every group of studies, or else one degree for any group of liberal studies. This latter alternative has been accepted by the leading state universities, and, in this respect, it is believed that they are leaders in educational progress.

The final and supreme test of the height to which a university attains is its output of creative men, not in science alone, but in arts, in literature, in ethics, in politics and in religion.

I, therefore, hold that the state university, a university which is to serve the state, must see to it that scholarship and research of all kinds, whether or not a possible practical value can be pointed out, must be sustained. A privately endowed institution may select some part of knowledge and confine itself to it, but not so a state university. A university supported by the state for all its people, for all its sons and daughters, with their tastes and aptitudes as varied as mankind, can place no bounds upon the lines of its endeavor, else the state is the irreparable loser.

Be the choice of the sons and daughters of the state, language, literature, history, political economy, pure science, agriculture, engineering, architecture, sculpture, painting or music, they should find at the state university ample opportunity for the pursuit of the chosen subject, even until they become creators in it. Nothing short of such opportunity is just, for each has an equal right to find at the state university the advanced intellectual life adapted to his need. Any narrower view is indefensible. The university should extend its scope until the field is covered from agriculture to the fine arts.

The barrenness of America in the creation and appreciation of literature, music and art is the point upon which Europe charges us with semi-barbarism. If the university does not become the center for the cultivation of the highest capacities of the human mind, where is the work to be done in this country? In America there is no other available agency. This work must be undertaken by the university, or else remain undone.

If the people of the United States are to cease being mere money getters, if they are to accomplish more than material advance, if they are to have proportional development, the university must give opportunity for training in all lines of human endeavor.

If the University of Wisconsin is to do for the state what it has a right to expect, it must develop, expand, strengthen creative work at whatever cost. Only by so doing is it possible for the university to serve the state in the highest way. For my part, I look forward with absolute confidence to the liberal support by the state of a school whose chief function is to add to the sum of human achievement. I am not willing to admit that a state university under a democracy shall be of lower grade than a state university under a monarchy. I believe that legislatures elected by all the people are as far-sighted as legislatures that represent an aristocracy. A great graduate school will be realized at some state university during this century. Is Wisconsin to have this preeminent position?

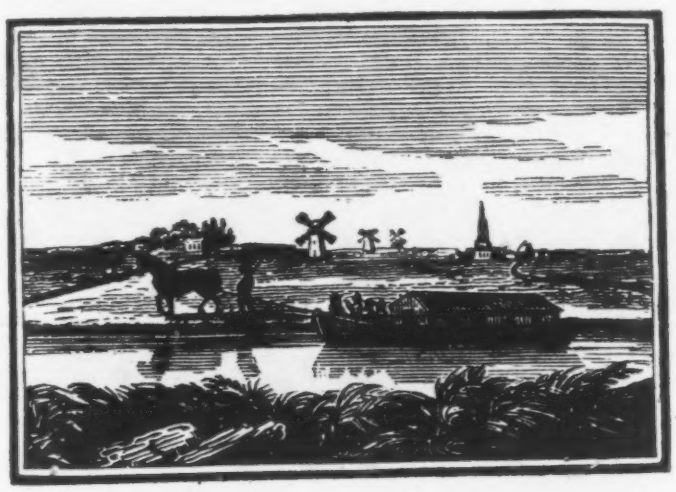
We are now able to suggest the ideal American university—one which has the best features of the English system with its dormitories, commons and union; one which includes the liberal and fine arts and the additions of science and applied science; and one which superimposes upon these an advanced school modeled upon the German universities, but with a broader scope. In such a university the student in the colleges of liberal and fine arts has opportunity to elect work in applied science, and thus broaden his education. He feels the inspiring influence of scholarship and research, and thus gains enthusiasm for the elementary work because it leads to the heights. The student in applied knowledge is not restricted to subjects which concern his future profession, but he has the opportunity to pursue the humanities and the fine arts, and thus liberalize his education. He, too, feels the stimulus of the graduate school, and, if one of the elect, may become an investigator and thus further ameliorate the lot of mankind by new applications of science to life. The student in the graduate school, primarily concerned with creative scholarship, may supplement a deficient basal training by work in the liberal arts and in the schools of applied knowledge. Thus the college of liberal arts, of applied knowledge and of creative scholarship interlock. Each is stronger and can do the work peculiar to itself better than if alone. This combination university is the American university of the future, and this the University of Wisconsin must become if it is to be the peer of the great universities of the nation.

Inaugural Address of Lotus Delta Coffman, Ph.D., President of the University of Minnesota, 1921.

Even though weakness may exist here and there, the mass results of the university are encouraging. There are certain ideals, there is a certain tone, there is a certain atmosphere characterizing the life of a university that distinguishes it from every other human institution. Whatever those ideals, that tone or atmosphere may be, it is as truly a function of the university to foster, conserve, safeguard, and stimulate it as it is a function of the university to provide instruction of a specific and definite character. Both make their impacts upon the student. Perhaps the most important of these general functions is the catholicity of spirit the university seeks to inculcate on all occasions. A truly educated man will be, to a certain extent, a cosmopolite. He will be a student of the problems of other nations. He will recognize that his own nation can not maintain permanently an attitude of singular insularity. The loyalty of an educated man to his own country will not blind him to his obligations as a citizen of the world, nor will he be led astray by local and ephemeral interests. The philosophy he cherishes for himself he will wish to extend to the rest of the world.

What is that philosophy? What does the truly educated American believe in? He believes that his institutions are social in origin and in nature, not the product of

any individual, nor of any special group of individuals, that they represent the soul-hunger and the spiritual expressions of the common people. He believes that the only natural rights any one has are those that he uses for collective welfare. He believes in equal rights before the law. He believes in equality of opportunity. He believes that potentially the achievement of the individual is measureless. He believes that a generous education for himself and a better one for his children is the only safeguard of democracy. These are the priceless possessions of his creed, the articles of his faith which he desires to have transmitted and made available for mankind everywhere.



It seems strange that it should be necessary to emphasize these truths at this time, when the average man has had his vision widened by the world war. The culture, problems, and interests of other nations are a part of his daily thought. The effect of the individual's reaction to these problems and interests is educational, but the unfortunate truth nevertheless remains that some think patriotism means my country against the world, instead of for and with the world. Traditionally, we may be narrowly nationalistic, but educationally, economically, and politically, this country is a member of the congeries of nations. Our Christian ethics teach us to be our brothers' keepers, and the golden rule commands us to do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Any individual who thinks of his job primarily in terms of the money he can earn from it, anyone who thinks of a profession in terms of personal gain, any nation that thinks that its problems lie almost entirely within its own boundaries, is on the road to self-destruction. The ancient dividing line between the Old World and the New has disappeared. America can not retain a detached position. The logic of events is demonstrating the utter helplessness and hopelessness of those who cling to such a deluded point of view. Americanism means that we can not disassociate ourselves from our interests, and our interests require that Europe be lifted out of the mire and restored to life and prosperity.

A university does not engage in propaganda, but its very atmosphere breathes of the spirit of helpfulness and of interest in the problems of men everywhere. Its graduates should live in a republic of minds that knows no limitations of time and no geographical boundaries. If this concept seems ideal it is none the less important for that reason. When a university ceases to be saturated with high-minded cosmopolitanism, a spirit of mutual helpfulness, and a desire to know and to understand the problems of the world, it will cease to be a university. When it gathers under its cloak a spurious cosmopolitanism whose insidious intent is destruction, it becomes a menace to social welfare. This great aim, this fundamental purpose of a true university we must constantly proclaim from the housetop, that we do not lose sight of it.

Another of the general functions of the university, quite as important as the development of a generous, intelligent, and discriminating spirit of cosmopolitanism, is that of service to the community or state in which the university is located. Perhaps one would say that has always been its purpose and that it has been realized only as universities have sent back to the community or the state efficient graduates. And this statement, of course, is correct. The final measure of value of a university is the kind of service its graduates render. Both the university and its graduates underwrite each other. If either declines in merit or worth to the community, the other declines; if either grows stronger and better and serves more nobly, the other improves correspondingly.

There is another way in which a university may serve the community, and that is by assisting it in solving its problems. If the state wishes to know how to beneficiate certain ores, how to eradicate wheat rust, to determine the economic value

of peat, to discover the best methods of extracting syrup from cornstalks, how to build roads, how to harness its water, how to eliminate the white pine blister, it will apply to the university for assistance. I foresee a time when state law schools will collaborate with the judiciary in the codification of the laws and in the preparation of legal materials required for the preparation of opinions or decisions. I predict that sooner or later there will be erected as a part of our engineering schools institutes of research to which all sorts of practical engineering problems will be brought by the state and by corporations and individuals. It is said that a little less than $100,000,000 a year is now spent on engineering problems in private laboratories. The prodigality of this will be recognized eventually and a cooperative arrangement will be entered into with the universities to do much of this work. When this comes true, men of science will not be taken away from institutions of learning, but will be urged to remain by the very organizations and people that are now taking them away. I believe that schools of commerce and business will find a corresponding service and that their advanced work will be largely financed by the special projects which they receive from the manufacturing and mercantile establishments of the community.

The principles which will govern the contact of the university with the community will not differ in a single respect from the principles that govern that contact now. The university will refuse to become commercialized. It will not sell itself. It will accept only those projects that have an educational value. It will insist upon the right to publish the results of its researches, and business, whether corporate or individual, will gladly consent to that right.

Every school and college of the university will find larger opportunities for community serviceableness in the future. The school of medicine will enjoy the respect of the medical practitioner. It will bear to the practitioner the same relation as consultant that he bears to another physician. The state will locate general hospitals at the university to which patients will be sent from every section of the state for care and treatment. As health education becomes more universal, community and private hospitals will increase in number. Affiliations between them and the general hospital will be arranged to the mutual advantage of both and to the very great advantage of the people of the state.

There is one other service which the university should perform and that is the publication of the results of their investigation and researches, particularly those that have a practical bearing upon the practical problems of the community. Many of these investigations are written in highly technical language and are filed away for safe keeping in the archives of the university. They will need to be rewritten in a language suitable for popular consumption and widely distributed to those who may profit by them. There is enough material of this sort filed away in universities to produce important if not radical changes in many fields.

As one contemplates the conception of university education as outlined in this paper, he is impressed with its enormous possibilities. He comes to the inevitable conclusion that the great objectives of life will always be reflected in the curricula of the university. Just now these objectives seem to be intelligent citizenship, economic betterment, social and individual justice, and health. Furthermore, the university of the future will be the one best place in all the world for intellectual training, for a mastery of the technique of the profession and the instruments of inquiry and research. It will be a place where men will learn to think in terms of larger units and more abiding forms of service. Those who think otherwise are not cognizant of the tremendous currents of social evolution that are fairly seething about them. The state university of the future will never return to the simpler theories and

practices of earlier days, and yet it will exalt scholarship as truly as it was exalted in those days. The university of tomorrow will have a social vision as well as an effective kind of individualism. It will be dedicated to the making of a better world to live in. It will not neglect its duty as a guardian of the treasures of civilization nor as a pioneer on the outskirts of knowledge. But it will acquire a new breadth of interests and sympathies, outlooks, intellectual tastes, and appreciations in harmony with the age it lives in and to which it owes its being.

THE MAN WHO WORKS WITH HIS HANDS

By Theodore Roosevelt

T.R. long preached the idea of a sound mind in a sound body. Just as one must train workers to use their heads, said Roosevelt, one must train *all* young people to use their hands. He spoke in 1907 at the 50th anniversary of the founding of America's first agricultural college at Lansing, Mich.

We have tended to regard education as a matter of the head only, and the result is that a great many of our people, themselves the sons of men who worked with their hands, seem to think that they rise in the world if they get into a position where they do no hard manual work whatever; where their hands will grow soft, and their working clothes will be kept clean. Such a conception is both false and mischievous. There are, of course, kinds of labor where the work must be purely mental, and there are other kinds of labor where, under existing conditions, very little demand indeed is made upon the mind, though I am glad to say that I think the proportion of men engaged in this kind of work is diminishing. But in any healthy community, in any community with the great solid qualities which alone make a really great nation, the bulk of the people should do work which makes demands upon both the body and the mind. Progress can not permanently consist in the abandonment of physical labor, but in the development of physical labor so that it shall represent more and more the work of the trained mind in the trained body. To provide such training, to encourage in every way the production of the men whom it alone can produce, is to show that as a nation we have a true conception of the dignity and importance of labor. The calling of the skilled tiller of the soil, the calling of the skilled mechanic, should alike be recognized as professions, just as emphatically as the callings of lawyer, of doctor, of banker, merchant, or clerk. The printer, the electrical worker, the house painter, the foundry man, should be trained just as carefully as the stenographer or the drug clerk. They should be trained alike in head and in hand. They should get over the idea that to earn twelve dollars a week and call it "salary" is better than to earn twenty-five dollars a week and call it "wages." The young man who has the courage and the ability to refuse to enter the crowded field of the so-called professions and to take to constructive industry is almost sure of an ample reward in earnings, in health, in opportunity to marry early, and to establish a home with reasonable freedom from worry. We need the training, the manual dexterity, and industrial intelligence which can be best given in a good agricultural, or building, or textile, or watchmaking, or engraving, or mechanical school. It should be one of our prime objects to put the mechanic, the wage-worker who works with his hands, and who ought to work in a constantly large degree with his head, or a higher plane of efficiency and reward, so as to increase his effectiveness in the economic world, and therefore the dignity, the remuneration, and the power of his position in the social world. To train boys and girls in merely literary accomplishments to the total exclusion of industrial, manual, and technical training tends to unfit them for industrial work, and in real life most work is industrial.

DEBATE ON SMITH-HUGHES VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT (1917)

Should the Federal government be concerned with the kind and quality of education our people are offered in their schools? Fifty years ago the Congress said yes. The following excerpts illustrate some of the appeals—to partriotism, to sentiment, to logic, and to humanitarianism— that legislators offered in support of Federal aid to vocational education.

George Huddleston (Alabama): Education of the masses is the imperative requirement of every democracy. Without it no government of and by the whole people can be good or successful. When the masses are without education, democracy is in danger, and the liberties of the whole people are threatened . . . .

Public education is the cause of the masses. It is their only hope and their vital necessity. The wealthy classes can always be sure of such training as they desire for their young, but the man who toils for a day's wages must educate his boy and his girl at the public school if they are to be educated at all. The common man should make the public school his chief concern, for upon it depends the future of his own children and all similarly situated. As a citizen he should bend his every energy to see that the public school is properly equipped and maintained and that the course of instruction is practical, such as will fit the common people for the life that they are compelled to lead whether they will or not, a life of usefulness and self-support. And since the welfare of the masses, the producing class, is of chief importance, every patriot, every lover of his country, whether he belongs to the workers or not, should make the public school the object of his deepest solicitude. All men are indeed brothers and all must stand or fall together, but though the citizen fails to recognize this eternal truth he must still cherish public education if he would preserve the institutions of our country.

Caleb Powers (Kentucky): Dr. Hopkins, of Illinois, one of the greatest soil chemists in America, was once lecturing down in the southern part of Illinois, near Egypt, where the land is poor. He explained to the farmers in that section how, by the application of $1.50 worth of phosphate to the acre, the normal yield of corn would

be increased from to 12 to 13 bushels per acre to 50 or 60. At the conclusion of his lecture a gray-haired old farmer, with tears in his eyes, stepped up to him and said:

"Mr. Hopkins, I want to thank you for what I have seen to-day, but, God help me, if I only knew that thing 40 years ago. I have got six boys in my family, and I have labored night and day to keep body and breeches together and to keep the family together, and what have I got on my farm? Twelve to fifteen and sixteen bushels of corn to the acre is all that I could make. Now, I would like to have sent my boys to college; I would like to have given those children an education; but I could not raise enough crops on that piece of land that I have owned, and so I have tilled all my lifetime and have earned barely enough to support my family. Now, if a man had only come to me when I was a comparatively young man and told me the thing that you have told me to-day—that $1.50 of rock phosphate would have given me the 50 bushels of corn crop, the crop which was raised right over the fence from where I am—I could have sent my children to the high school and to the university, and—" He said with tears running down his face—"I am at the end, and nobody told me that."

Too many good men have grown gray and worn their lives out as the old man in Illinois has done without knowing what to do to the soil to make it productive. This knowledge ought to be carried to them and their children. We have it already in the laboratories of our experiment stations and agricultural colleges. It is the purpose of the bill before us to help carry, especially to the children of these farmers, such knowledge as will make them practical and highly productive farmers. It will take years to solve the problem. The knowledge, I say, has in great measure already been obtained.

Homer P. Snyder (New York): I believe this bill is one of the most important measures which will come before Congress. Every business man outside, perhaps, of the professions, is aware that the trend of the young men to-day is away from vocations of the hand and favoring the vocations of the brain. I contend that both are necessary and that both should be more or less attained by every student, especially those who will be compelled sooner or later to look to their own industry for support. There are innumerable instances all over the country where the services of young men are needed for mechanical and other positions of trust.

Nothing will more benefit the country at large than the stimulation and direction of the ideas of the young to broaden their field of endeavor and to realize that mechanical and business development is as valuable if not more valuable than the development merely of their mental powers along professional lines.

Frederick W. Dallinger (Massachusetts): It is the fairest bill involving a Federal appropriation for the encouragement of State activities which are of national concern that has ever been introduced in the Congress of the United States.

Now a number of Members have worried about the encroachment of the Federal Government upon the rights of the States. Away back at the beginning of this Government when that great Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, in his famous Report on the Public Credit recommended legislation incorporating the first bank of the United States, the same question was raised. And Mr. Madison, in charge of the bank bill, was challenged to show any power in the Constitution giving Congress the right to charter any such institution. And then and there was invoked the doctrine of implied powers. It was shown that, while there was no direct power granted to Congress in the Constitution to charter a bank and that while apparently the chartering of banking corporations was a State matter, that power could be implied from the power to borrow money; could be implied from

the power to raise and support armies; and could be implied from the power to provide and maintain a Navy.

And, in this bill the power of Congress to encourage and aid the States in agricultural and technical education can be implied plainly from those same two clauses in the Constitution, because to-day one of the greatest factors in preparedness, in raising and supporting an Army and in providing and maintaining a Navy, is the question of an adequate food supply for this country in any emergency that may arise. Moreover, one of the greatest factors in raising and supporting an Army and providing and maintaining a Navy is the existence of a sufficient number of men trained in the industrial arts, and in that particular we in this country are sorely lacking. Mr. Chairman, if there ever was a bill whose constitutionality in this critical period, when we are talking so much about national preparedness, can be maintained, it is this bill.

James R. Mann (Illinois): I sometimes almost think that as a people we are over-educated mentally along cultural lines. Of course, I do not really think that we are over-educated in the broad sense or even up to the standard yet. For years we have been going on the principle of teaching a few things to train the mind in the primary schools, in the higher grades, and to a large extent in the colleges and the universities, and for the ordinary day labor we have relied upon immigration. Ever since I was a boy there has been a great work in looking after the railroads, digging the ditches, constructing sewers; and a large share of the manual labor, what we call the cheaper labor, has been performed by people who have recently come over from the other side. To a very large extent it is true that the children of those men do not follow the same occupations.

But we cannot rely upon immigration for ordinary labor forever. What I say has reference particularly to labor in the North. We can not rely upon immigrant labor forever, and in order to get the American citizen, born and reared in this country, to do this class of labor, you have got to fix it so that he can do more work and get more pay. And it is along lines like these that we have got to look in the future to perform the necessary work in our Nation.

This is a step in that direction, designed to encourage young men, especially, to do the labor of occupational work or industrial work, and aid them, while they are learning with their arms to work, to know how to do the work better and more economically and more profitably for the country and for themselves, through teaching them in the mind how to better handle their hands.

Primarily, it is not the duty of the Government to do this. But we will have to prepare for these things because it is our duty to look into the long-distance future. We will have to prepare to-day for what will happen to our children and our grandchildren and our great grandchildren if we are to maintain the things that this Government and our Nation ought and do stand for. While it is not primarily the duty of the Government, we have adopted in recent years the policy of having the General Government encourage the local governments to do those things which primarily belong to the local governments, and of course one reason for that—and it may be a good reason—is that in the collection of taxes it is easier to raise money from the great centers of wealth when the expenditure of money in these directions is just as necessary in those localities where wealth does not center.

THE AIMS OF EDUCATION

By A. N. Whitehead (1929)

Philosopher Alfred North Whitehead describes the aims of educations in this first chapter written in 1929.

Culture is activity of thought, and receptiveness to beauty and humane feeling. Scraps of information have nothing to do with it. A merely well-informed man is the most useless bore on God's earth. What we should aim at producing is men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction. Their expert knowledge will give them the ground to start from, and their culture will lead them as deep as philosophy and as high as art. We have to remember that the valuable intellectual development is self-development, and that it mostly takes place between the ages of sixteen and thirty. As to training, the most important part is given by mothers before the age of twelve. A saying due to Archbishop Temple illustrates my meaning. Surprise was expressed at the success in after-life of a man, who as a boy at Rugby had been somewhat undistinguished. He answered, "It is not what they are at eighteen, it is what they become afterwards that matters."

In training a child to activity of thought, above all things we must beware of what I will call "inert ideas"—that is to say, ideas that are merely received into the mind without being utilised, or tested, or thrown into fresh combinations.

In the history of education, the most striking phenomenon is that schools of learning, which at one epoch are alive with a ferment of genius, in a succeeding generation exhibit merely pedantry and routine. The reason is, that they are overladen with inert ideas. Education with inert ideas is not only useless: it is, above all things, harmful—"Corruptio optimi, pessima." Except at rare intervals of intellectual ferment, education in the past has been radically infected with inert ideas. That is the reason why uneducated clever women, who have seen much of the world, are in middle life so much the most cultured part of the community. They have been saved from this horrible burden of inert ideas. Every intellectual revolution which has ever stirred humanity into greatness has been a passionate protest against inert ideas. Then, alas, with pathetic ignorance of human psychology, it has proceeded by some educational scheme to bind humanity afresh with inert ideas of its own fashioning.

Let us now ask how in our system of education we are to guard against this mental dryrot. We enunciate two educational commandments, "Do not teach too many subjects," and again, "What you teach, teach thoroughly."

The result of teaching small parts of a large number of subjects is the passive reception of disconnected ideas, not illumined with any spark of vitality. Let the main ideas which are introduced into a child's education be few and important, and let them be thrown into every combination possible. The child should make them his own, and should understand their application here and now in the circumstances of his actual life. From the very beginning of his education, the child should ex-

perience the joy of discovery. The discovery which he has to make, is that general ideas give an understanding of that stream of events which pours through his life, which is his life. By understanding I mean more than a mere logical analysis, though that is included. I mean "understanding" in the sense in which it is used in the French proverb, "To understand all, is to forgive all." Pedants sneer at an education which is useful. But if education is not useful, what is it? Is it a talent, to be hidden away in a napkin? Of course, education should be useful, whatever your aim in life. It was useful to Saint Augustine and it was useful to Napoleon. It is useful, because understanding is useful.

I pass lightly over that understanding which should be given by the literary side of education. Nor do I wish to be supposed to pronounce on the relative merits of a classical or a modern curriculum. I would only remark that the understanding which we want is an understanding of an insistent present. The only use of a knowledge of the past is to equip us for the present. No more deadly harm can be done to young minds than by depreciation of the present. The present contains all that there is. It is holy ground; for it is the past, and it is the future. At the same time it must be observed that an age is no less past if it existed two hundred years ago than if it existed two thousand years ago. Do not be deceived by the pedantry of dates. The ages of Shakespeare and of Moliere are no less past than are the ages of Sophocles and of Virgil. The communion of saints is a great and inspiring assemblage, but it has only one possible hall of meeting, and that is, the present; and the mere lapse of time through which any particular group of saints must travel to reach that meeting-place, makes very little difference.

THE HIGHER LEARNING IN AMERICA

By Robert Maynard Hutchins (1936)

Hutchins, former President of the University of Chicago, says that general education is for everybody, whether he goes to a university or not. In his book, published in 1936, he calls for the cultivation of the intellect and the development of practical wisdom.

Education implies teaching. Teaching implies knowledge. Knowledge is truth. The truth is everywhere the same. Hence education should be everywhere the same. I do not overlook the possibilities of differences in organization, in administration, in local habits and customs. These are details. I suggest that the heart of any course of study designed for the whole people will be, if education is rightly understood, the same at any time, in any place, under any political, social, or economic conditions. Even the administrative details are likely to be similar because all societies have generic similarity.

If education is rightly understood, it will be understood as the cultivation of the intellect. The cultivation of the intellect is the same good for all men in all societies. It is, moreover, the good for which all other goods are only means. Material prosperity, peace and civil order, justice and the moral virtues are means to the cultivation of the intellect. So Aristotle says in the *Politics:* "Now, in men reason and mind are the end towards which nature strives, so that the generation and moral discipline of the citizens ought to be ordered with a view to them." An education which served the means rather than their end would be misguided.

I agree, of course, that any plan of general education must be such as to educate the student for intelligent action. It must, therefore, start him on the road toward practical wisdom. But the question is what is the best way for education to start him and how far can it carry him. Prudence or practical wisdom selects the means toward the ends that we desire. It is acquired partly from intellectual operations and partly from experience. But the chief requirement for it is correctness in thinking. Since education cannot duplicate the experiences which the student will have when he graduates, it should devote itself to developing correctness in thinking as a means to practical wisdom, that is, to intelligent action.

As Aristotle put it in the Ethics, "... while young men become geometricians and mathematicians and wise in matters like these, it is thought that a young man of practical wisdom cannot be found. The cause is that such wisdom is concerned not only with universals, but with particulars, but a young man has no experience, for it is length of time that gives experience." Since practical wisdom is "a true and reasoned capacity to act with regard to the things that are good or bad for man," it would seem that education can make its best contribution to the development of practical wisdom by concentrating on the reasoning essential to it.

A modern heresy is that all education is formal education and that formal education must assume the total responsibility for the full development of the individual.

The Greek notion that the city educates the man has been forgotten. Everything that educated the man in the city has to be imported into our schools, colleges, and universities. We are beginning to behave as though the home, the church, the state, the newspaper, the radio, the movies, the neighborhood club, and the boy next door did not exist. All the experience that is daily and hourly acquired from these sources is overlooked, and we set out to supply imitations of it in educational institutions. The experience once provided by some of these agencies may be attenuated now; but it would be a bold man who would assert that the young person today lived a life less full of experience than the youth of yesterday. Today as yesterday we may leave experience to other institutions and influences and emphasize in education the contribution that it is supremely fitted to make, the intellectual training of the young. The life they lead when they are out of our hands will give them experience enough. We cannot try to give it to them and at the same time perform the task that is ours and ours alone.

Young people do not spend all their time in school. Their elders commonly spend none of it there. Yet their elders are, we hope, constantly growing in practical wisdom. They are, at least, having experience. If we can teach them while they are being educated how to reason, they may be able to comprehend and assimilate their experience. It is a good principle of educational administration that a college or university should do nothing that another agency can do as well. This is a good principle because a college or university has a vast and complicated job if it does what only it can do. In general education, therefore, we may wisely leave experience to life and set about our job of intellectual training.

If there are permanent studies which every person who wishes to call himself educated should master; if those studies constitute our intellectual inheritance, then those studies should be the center of a general education. They cannot be ignored because they are difficult, or unpleasant, or because they are almost totally missing from our curriculum today. The child-centered school may be attractive to the child, and no doubt is useful as a place in which the little ones may release their inhibitions and hence behave better at home. But educators cannot permit the students to dictate the course of study unless they are prepared to confess that they are nothing but chaperons, supervising an aimless, trial-and-error process which is chiefly valuable because it keeps young people from doing something worse. The free elective system as Mr. Eliot introduced it at Harvard and as Progressive Education adapted it to lower age levels amounted to a denial that there was content to education. Since there was no content to education, we might as well let students follow their own bent. They would at least be interested and pleased and would be as well educated as if they had pursued a prescribed course of study. This overlooks the fact that the aim of education is to connect man with man, to connect the present with the past, and to advance the thinking of the race. If this is the aim of education, it cannot be left to the sporadic, spontaneous interests of children or even of undergraduates.

EDUCATION AT THE CROSSROADS

By Jacques Maritain (1943)

Whatever its form and substance, the chief task of education is to shape man. Philosopher Jacques Maritain . . . on this ageless concept

The general title I have chosen is "Education at the Crossroads." I might also have entitled these chapters "The Education of Man," though such a title may unintentionally seem provocative: for many of our contemporaries know primitive man, or Western man, or the man of the Renaissance, or the man of the industrial era, or the criminal man, or the bourgeois man, or the working man, but they wonder what is meant when we speak of man.

Of course the job of education is not to shape man-in-himself, but to shape a particular child belonging to a given nation, a given social environment, a given historical age. Yet before being a child of the twentieth century, an American-born or European-born child, a gifted or a retarded child, this child is a child of man. Before being a civilized man—at least I hope I am—and a Frenchman nurtured in Parisian intellectual circles, I am a man. If it is true, moreover, that our chief duty consists, according to the profound saying of the Greek poet, Pindar, in becoming who we are, nothing is more important for each of us, or more difficult, than to become a man. Thus the chief task of education is above all to shape man, or to guide the evolving dynamism through which man forms himself as a man. That is why I might have taken for my title "The Education of Man."

We shall not forget that the word education has a triple yet intermingled connotation, and refers either to any process whatsoever by means of which man is shaped and led toward fulfillment (education in its broadest sense), or to the task of formation which adults intentionally undertake with regard to youth, or, in its strictest sense, to the special task of schools and universities.

Man is not merely an animal of nature, like a skylark or a bear. Due to the very fact that he is endowed with a knowing power which is unlimited and which nonetheless only advances step by step, man cannot progress in his own specific life, both intellectually and morally, without being helped by collective experience previously accumulated and preserved, and by a regular transmission of acquired knowledge. In order to reach self-determination, for which he is made, he needs discipline and tradition, which will both weigh heavily on him and strengthen him so as to enable him to struggle against them—which will enrich that very tradition —and the enriched tradition will make possible new struggles, and so forth. From childhood on, man's condition is to suffer from and defend himself against the most worthy and indispensable supports which nature has provided for his life, and thus to grow amidst and through conflict, if only energy, love, and good will quicken his heart.

We must here stress some characteristics of school and college education which are often insufficiently taken into account. School and college education is only a part of education. It pertains only to the beginnings and the completed preparation

of the upbringing of man, and no illusion is more harmful than to try to push back into the microcosm of school education the entire process of shaping the human being, as if the system of schools and universities were a big factory through the back door of which the young child enters like a raw material, and from the front door of which the youth in his brilliant twenties will go out as a successfully manufactured man. Our education goes on until our death. Moreover, the surprising thing is that the school, whose special and vocational function is education, performs its educational task while not infrequently making the youth a victim of stupefying overwork or disintegrating chaotic specialization, and often extinguishing the fire of natural gifts and defrauding the thirst of natural intelligence by dint of pseudo-knowledge.

The educational task is both greater and more mysterious and, in a sense, humbler than many imagine. The purpose of elementary and higher education is not to make the youth a truly wise man, but to equip his mind with an ordered knowledge which will enable him to advance toward wisdom in his manhood. Its specific aim is to provide him with the foundations of real wisdom, and with an articulate comprehension of human achievements in science and culture, before he enters upon the definite and limited tasks of adult life in the civil community, and even while he is preparing himself for these tasks. We might say the objective is less the acquisition of science itself or art itself than the grasp of their meaning and the comprehension of the truth or beauty they yield. The practical condition for all this is that the youth strive to penetrate as deeply as possible into the great achievements of the human mind rather than to tend toward material erudition and atomized memorization.

Yet what is most important in education is not the *job* of education, and still less that of learning. There are courses in philosophy, but no courses in wisdom; wisdom is gained through spiritual experience, and as for practical wisdom, as Aristotle put it, the experience of old men is both as undemonstrable and illuminating as the first principles of understanding. Moreover, is there anything of greater import in the education of man than that which is of the greatest import for man and human life? For man and human life there is indeed nothing greater than intuition and love. Not every love is right, nor every intuition well directed or conceptualized, yet if either intuition or love exists in any hidden corner, life and the flame of life are there, and a bit of heaven in a promise. Yet neither intuition nor love is a matter of training and learning, they are gift and freedom.

TOWARD EQUALIZING OPPORTUNITY

President Harry Truman's Commission on Higher Education in 1947 called for a program which would equalize educational opportunity for all young Americans.

The American people should set as their ultimate goal an educational system in which at no level—high school, college, graduate school, or professional school—will a qualified individual in any part of the country encounter an insuperable economic barrier to the attainment of the kind of education suited to his aptitudes and interests.

This means that we shall aim at making higher education equally available to all young people, as we now do education in the elementary and high schools, to the extent that their capacity warrants a further social investment in their training.

Obviously this desirable realization of our ideal of equal educational opportunity cannot be attained immediately. But if we move toward it as fast as our economic resources permit, it should not lie too far in the future. Technological advances, that are already resulting in phenomenal increases in productivity per worker, promise us a degree of economic well-being that would have seeemed wholly Utopian to our fathers. With wise management of our economy, we shall almost certainly be able to support education at all levels far more adequately in the future than we could in the past.

The Commission recommends that steps be taken to reach the following objectives without delay:

1. High school education must be improved and should be provided for all normal youth.

This is a minimum essential. We cannot safely permit any of our citizens for any reason other than incapacity, to stop short of a high school education or its equivalent. To achieve the purpose of such education, however, it must be improved in facilities and in the diversity of its curriculum. Better high school education is essential, both to raise the caliber of students entering college and to provide the best training possible for those who end their formal education with the twelfth grade.

2. The time has come to make education through the fourteenth grade available in the same way that high school education is now available.

This means that tuition-free education should be available in public institutions to all youth for the traditional freshman and sophomore years or for the traditional 2-year junior college course.

To achieve this, it will be necessary to develop much more extensively than at present such opportunities as are now provided in local communities by the 2-year junior college, community institute, community college, or institute of arts and sciences. The name used does not matter, though community college seems to describe these schools best; the important thing is that the services they perform be recognized and vastly extended.

Such institutions make post-high-school education available to a much larger percentage of young people than otherwise could afford it. Indeed, as discussed in the volume of this Commission's report, "Organizing Higher Education," such community colleges probably will have to carry a large part of the responsibility for expanding opportunities in higher education.

3. The time has come to provide financial assistance to competent students in the tenth through fourteenth grades who would not be able to continue their education without such assistance.

Tuition costs are not the major economic barrier to education, especially in college. Costs of supplies, board, and room, and other living needs are great. Even many high-school students are unable to continue in school because of these costs.

Arrangements must be made, therefore, to provide additional financial assistance for worthy students who need it if they are to remain in school. Only in this way can we counteract the effect of family incomes so low that even tuition-free schooling is a financial impossibility for their children. Only in this way can we make sure that all who are to participate in democracy are adequately prepared to do so.

4. The time has come to reverse the present tendency of increasing tuition and other student fees in the senior college beyond the fourteenth year, and in both graduate and professional schools, by lowering tuition costs in publicly controlled colleges and by aiding deserving students through inaugurating a program of scholarships and fellowships.

Only in this way can we be sure that economic and social barriers will not prevent the realization of the promise that lies in our most gifted youth. Only in this way can we be certain of developing for the common good all the potential leadership our society produces, no matter in what social or economic stratum it appears.

5. The time has come to expand considerably our program of adult education, and to make more of it the responsibility of our colleges and universities.

The crisis of the time and the rapidly changing conditions under which we live make it especially necessary that we provide a continuing and effective educational program for adults as well as youth. We can in this way, perhaps, make up some of the educational deficiencies of the past, and also in a measure counteract the pressures and distractions of adult life that all too often make the end of formal schooling the end of education too.

6. The time has come to make public education at all levels equally accessible to all, without regard to race, creed, sex or national origin.

If education is to make the attainment of a more perfect democracy one of its major goals, it is imperative that it extend its benefits to all on equal terms. It must renounce the practices of discrimination and segregation in educational institutions as contrary to the spirit of democracy. Educational leaders and institutions should take positive steps to overcome the conditions which at present obstruct free and equal access to educational opportunities. Educational programs everywhere should be aimed at undermining and eventually eliminating the attitudes that are responsible for discrimination and segregation—at creating instead attitudes that will make education freely available to all.

"THE DECLINE AND FALL OF PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION"

By Lawrence A. Cremin (1961)

What caused the progressive education movement to collapse after World War II? Historian Lawrence A. Cremin ventures seven reasons.

The surprising thing about the progressive response to the assault of the fifties is not that the movement collapsed, but that it collapsed so readily. * * * Why this abrupt and rather dismal end of a movement that had for more than a half-century commanded the loyalty of influential segments of the American public? A number of reasons suggest themselves.

First, distortion. As frequently happens with social movements, success brought schism in the ranks. The pluralism of the nineties became the bitter ideological fragmentation of the thirties and forties. Factions developed, and within the factions cults, cliques, and fanatics. The movement became strife-ridden, given to bandwagon behavior, dominated by the feuding of minorities. The strife made headlines, and within these headlines lay the seeds of many a cartoon version of progressive education.

Second, there was the negativism inherent in this and all social reform movements. Like many protestors against injustice, the early progressives knew better what they were against than what they were for. And when one gets a true picture of the inequities of American schools during the half-century before World War I, he realizes they had much to be against; the physical and pedagogical conditions in many schools were indescribably bad, an effrontery to the mildest humanitarian sentiments. Yet, granted this, a protest is not a program. Shibboleths like "the whole child" or "creative self-expression" stirred the faithful to action and served as powerful battering rams against the old order, but in classroom practice they were not very good guides to positive action. At least the generation that invented them had an idea of what they meant. The generation that followed adopted them as a collection of ready-made clichés—clichés which were not very helpful when the public began to raise searching questions about the schools.

Third, what the progressives did prescribe made inordinate demands on the teacher's time and ability. "Integrated studies" required familiarity with a fantastic range of knowledge and teaching materials; while the commitment to build upon student needs and interests demanded extraordinary feats of pedagogical ingenuity. In the hands of first-rate instructors, the innovations worked wonders; in the hands of too many average teachers, however, they led to chaos. Like the proverbial little girl with the curl right in the middle of her forehead, progressive education done well was very good indeed; done badly, it was abominable—worse, perhaps, than the formalism it had sought to supplant.

Fourth, and this too is a common phenomenon of social reform, the movement became a victim of its own success. Much of what it preached was simply incorporated into the schools at large. Once the schools did change, however, progres-

sives too often found themselves wedded to specific programs, unable to formulate next steps. Like some liberals who continued to fight for the right of labor to organize long after the Wagner Act had done its work, many progressives continued to fight against stationary desks in schools where movable desks were already in use. For some young people in the post-World War II generation the ideas of the progressives became inert—in Whitehead's sense of "right thinking" that no longer moves to action. * * * The old war cries, whatever their validity or lack of it, rang a bit hollow; they no longer generated enthusiasm. Like any legacy from a prior generation, they were too easily and too carelessly spent; rarely perhaps were they lovingly invested in something new. In the end, the result was intellectual bankruptcy.

Fifth, there was the impact of the more general swing toward conservatism in postwar political and social thought. If progressive education arose as part of Progressivism writ large, it should not be surprising that a reaction to it came as a phase of Conservatism writ large. When the reaction did come, too many educators thought they would be progressives in education and conservatives in everything else. The combination, of course, is not entirely impossible, though it may well be intellectually untenable. John Dewey addressed himself to the point in Characters and Events. "Let us admit the case of the conservative," he wrote; "if we once start thinking no one can guarantee what will be the outcome, except that many objects, ends and institutions will be surely doomed. Every thinker puts some portion of an apparently stable world in peril, and no one can wholly predict what will emerge in its place." Dewey's comment, by the way, makes incomparably clear what he thought was progressive about good education, and gives the lie to a good deal of nonsense about his philosophy being anti-intellectual.

Sixth, there was the price the movement paid for its own professionalization; for given the political realities of American education, no program can survive that ceases assiduously to cultivate lay support. Progressives were undoubtedly right in contending that teachers needed to be better educated and better paid, and that professionalization would ultimately serve these ends. And they were right, too, in assuming that once teachers had been converted to their cause, half the battle would be won. But they committed a supreme political blunder during the thirties when they allowed the movement itself to become professionalized; for in the process the political coalition of businessmen, trade unionists, farmers, and intellectuals that had supported them in their early efforts was simply permitted to crumble. The resultant lack of nonprofessional support during the fifties was a crucial factor in the high vulnerability of the movement to widespread criticism of its policies and procedures.

Seventh, and most important, progressive education collapsed because it failed to keep pace with the continuing transformation of American society. The ultimate enemy of the conventional wisdom, Galbraith points out, is not so much ideas as the march of events. For the conventional wisdom accommodates itself not to the world that it is meant to interpret, but to the audience's view of that world. And since audiences tend to prefer the comfortable and [illegible], while the world moves on, the conventional wisdom is ever in danger of obsolescence. * * *

Most fundamental of all, perhaps, the continued growth of the mass media, the proliferation of social welfare agencies under public and quasi-public sponsorship, and the rapid extension of industry-sponsored education programs—the "classrooms in the factories" that Harold Clark and Harold Sloan labelled the real pedagogical revolution of the time—had literally transformed the balance of forces in education. Whereas the central thrust of progressivism had been expansionist—it

revolted against formalism and sought to extend the functions of the school—the central effort of the fifties was rather to define more precisely the school's responsibilities, to delineate those things that the school needed to do because if the school did not do them they would not get done. It was this problem more than any, perhaps, that stood at the heart of the argument over educational priorities that dominated the citizens' conferences of the decade.

Granted this, however, and granted the collapse of progressive education as an organized movement, there remained a timelessness about many of the problems the progressives raised and the solutions they proposed.*** However much progressive education had become the conventional wisdom of the fifties, there were still slum schools that could take profitable lessons from Jacob Riis, rural schools that had much to learn from the Country Life Commission, and colleges that had yet to discover that the natural curiosity of the young could be a magnificent propellant to learning. Glaring educational inequalities along race and class lines cried out for alleviation, and the vision of a democracy of culture retained a nobility all its own—Lyman Bryson restated it brilliantly in The Next America (1953), a book that never received the attention it deserved. As knowledge proliferated, the need to humanize it only intensified; while the awesome imminence of atomic war merely dramatized the difference between knowledge and intelligence. Finally, the rapid transformation of the so-called underdeveloped nations lent new meaning and new urgency to Jane Addams's caveat that "unless all men and all classes contribute to a good, we cannot even be sure that it is worth having". . .

The Progressive Education Association had died, and progressive education itself needed drastic reappraisal. Yet the transformation they had wrought in the schools was in many ways as irreversible as the larger industrial transformation of which it had been part. And for all the talk about pedagogical breakthroughs and crash programs, the authentic progressive vision remained strangely pertinent to the problems of mid-century America. Perhaps it only awaited the reformulation and resuscitation that would ultimately derive from a larger resurgence of reform in American life and thought.

IN SUPPORT OF FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

By Robert A. Taft (1948)

Long an opponent of Federal aid to education, Senator Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio), announced in 1948 that he had changed his mind and was now supporting it. In this speech to the Senate, he told why.

Four years ago, I opposed the bill on this subject; but in the course of that debate it became so apparent that many children in the United States were left without education, and then it became apparent upon further study, that that was not the fault, necessarily, of the States where they lived, but rather the financial abilities of the States, that I could see no way of meeting the condition which now exists regarding illiteracy in the United States and lack of education in the United States without some Federal assistance, particularly for those States which are considerably below the average wealth of the United States.

I do not think I can exaggerate the necessity of education. Primary education lies at the basis of all forms of republican government. A government depending on the making of decisions by the people and depending on their intelligence can exist only if the people have some ability to understand the problems of government which are presented to them. Unless there is a satisfactory educational basis, there cannot possibly be hope for success in any democratic form of government where the people are expected to rule and to decide the questions which are placed before them.

Fundamentally, Mr. President, I think we have a tremendous obligation to provide equality of opportunity to the children of the United States. ***No child can have equality of opportunity, in my opinion, unless to start with he has a basic minimum education.

I have drawn always a strong distinction between the Federal Government interfering to regulate the people of the States to take over the business of State and local governments and extending its power that way, and the Federal Government assisting the States. ***I have not been able to find that the Congress of the United States, when appealed to on a major question, is prepared to refuse to act. If we should have unemployment to the extent that relief is required, and people should come here asking for aid, we could not refuse them. It may be constitutional, but it is not practical, when people say, "Here is a health situation beyond the power of our locality," to reply, "That is not our field. You do it." It might be possible to make a logical argument in that connection. I tried to make such an argument, for a while, when I first came to the Senate. It appealed to no one. The people were not satisfied. They said, "You have the money; you can help. You cannot stand behind the Constitution and say you are not going to do it. You must do it."

In matters affecting the necessities of life—and I should like to confine it so far as possible to the necessities of life; namely, to relief, to education, to health, and to housing—I do not believe the Federal Government can say it has no interest, and say to the people, "Go your way and do the best you can." I do not believe we

should do that. Because of the way wealth is distributed in the United States I think we have a responsibility to see if we cannot eliminate hardship, poverty, and inequality of opportunity, to the best of our ability. I do not believe we are able to do it without a Federal aid system.

It is popular to provide for public works. ***Public works are nice things; we can see them. But when it comes down to the basic necessities of life and the basic elements of human welfare and human progress, there is nothing more important than education. It does not have the glamour that other things have, but it seems to me we must go forward in the field of education for our people and I know of no way of going forward in that field to any substantial degree without providing some Federal financial assistance.

OUR SCHOOLS HAVE KEPT US FREE

By Henry Steele Commager (1950)

Today's America owes much to our founders' faith in education. The schools have enlightened, unified, and democratized our people. In this article, a noted historian summarizes some tasks our schools have performed in the building of our free Nation.

No other people ever demanded so much of education as have the Americans. None other was ever served so well by its schools and educators. From the beginning education has had very special, and very heavy, tasks to perform. Democracy could not work without an enlightened electorate. The various states and regions could not achieve unity without a sentiment of nationhood. The nation could not absorb tens of millions of immigrants from all parts of the globe without rapid and effective Americanization. Economic and social distinctions and privileges, severe enough to corrode democracy itself, had to be fought. To our schools went the momentous responsibilty of inspiring a people to pledge and hold allegiance to these historic principles of democracy, nationalism, Americanism, and egalitarianism.

Because we are a "new" nation we sometimes forget how very old are some of our institutions and practices. The U.S.—today the oldest democracy in the world and the oldest republic—also has the oldest public school system in the world.

What compels our interest, however, is not only the daring of that law but the accuracy with which it reflected our national character and foreshadowed our history.

How did it happen that this little frontier colony of some 15,000 or 20,000 souls, clinging precariously to the wilderness shelf, should within a few years have established a Latin School, Harvard College and a system of public education? Why this instant and persistent concern for education—so great that education became the American religion? For it is in education that we have put our faith; it is our schools and colleges that are the peculiar objects of public largess and private benefaction. Even in architecture we have proclaimed our devotion, building schools like cathedrals.

None of this reflects any peculiar respect for learning or for scholarship. There has never been much of that, and there is probably less of it today than at any previous time in our history. Only in the U.S. could the term "brain trust" be one of opprobrium; only here is the college professor a stereotype of absent-mindedness and general woolliness.

Yet the paradox in all this is more apparent than real. It is not because education advances scholarship that it has been so prized in America—but rather because it promised to bring to real life the American dream of the good society.

Let us look at the specific tasks which our triumphant faith in education imposed on our schools. The first and greatest task was to provide an enlightened citizenry in order that self-government might work.

PREJUDICE AND YOUR CHILD

By Kenneth B. Clark (1955)

For the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth (1950), Kenneth B. Clark prepared a report on "The Effects of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development in Children." The United States Supreme Court cited Mr. Clark's findings in its decision of May 1954 when it ruled that laws requiring or permitting racial segregation in public education are unconstitutional. In the introduction to his subsequent book, Clark points out how prejudice cuts both ways, injuring both the one who discriminates and the one who is discriminated against.

One of the most characteristic and impressive things about the American people is their dedication to their children. Ours is indeed a "child-centered" society. Almost no sacrifice is too great for parents to make if it will benefit their children. Parents will work, scheme, attend church, buy life and endowment insurance, move from country to city, from city to suburbs, from one neighborhood to another, from south to north, from east to west—all for the welfare of their children. Divorces have been postponed and marriages maintained because of the children. Schools change their policies from traditional to progressive or vice versa in order to meet the needs of the children. Experts write books to present the latest version of the facts on the care of the infant and child. Parents buy, and sometimes read, these books in order to ensure their children a happy future. Important research projects on the causes, prevention, and cure of polio, muscular dystrophy, mental retardation, and emotional disturbances have been subsidized by parents moved by an emotional response to the picture of an afflicted child who could have been their own. American parents are intensely conscious, if not overly self-conscious, about the welfare and future success of their children. In the main, their activities in the present and their plans for the future are geared to protecting their children from want and foreseeable harm.

When mistakes are made and things go wrong with their children, parents suffer from feelings of guilt even if they did not deliberately harm their children. Often these difficulties reflect factors that the parents do not understand or control; therefore the parents cannot know what is the "right" thing to do.

When white American parents demand that a school board maintain separate schools for white and Negro children, and when some of these parents encourage their children to refuse to attend a school to which Negro students have been recently admitted, they do so not only as an expression of their own racial feelings but also in the belief that they are protecting their children. If these parents understood that, far from protecting their children, acts of this type distort and damage the core of their children's personalities, they would not act this way. If they understood that the opportunity for a child to meet and know other children of different races, religions, and cultures is beneficial and not detrimental; that it contributes to social competence and confidence; that it increases a child's chances for personal and moral stability—then they would demand, in the name of their children, non-segregated public education.

For these and other reasons, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the nature of racial prejudices and the effects of these prejudices upon American society in general and upon the personality development of children.

Some scholars have pointed out that all complex human societies assign to different groups of individuals positions of different status. The pretext for the different status varies from differences in religion, region, sex, politics, or material possessions to differences in physical characteristics. In differentiating among human beings, the societies decide which are "better" and which are "worse." Then the society excludes and rejects those in the "worse" groups. Finally, these patterns become fixed and unquestioned social customs.

Racial discrimination in America is one example of this tendency to grant preferred status to some individuals and to reject others. In this case the basis for preference is skin color.

Some scholars have speculated on the reasons for prejudice, to discover which came first—the lower status or the prejudice. In either case the stereotyped thinking almost invariably asserts the inferiority of one group and the superiority of the other. Needless to say, these explanations are satisfying to the group on top and disturbing to the group on the bottom. Some observers maintain that these forms of prejudices are irrational, that they fulfill an emotional rather than an intellectual need of those who hold them. It would be difficult, however, to understand social prejudices in terms of whether they are rational. Man utilizes all of his faculties, both rational and irrational, in his struggle to establish an adequate status for himself, and in his attempt to justify his existence and his superiority to others.

Parents and other adults who care about the welfare of children must be concerned with the problem of the types of ideas and judgments transmitted to children. An important aspect of the education of all children in a democracy is teaching them those beliefs, ideas, and patterns, of behavior which are most consistent with reality and with personal and social stability. An equally important aspect involves training children to recognize beliefs that conflict with objective reality and with their own integrity—beliefs that are detrimental to themselves and others. Moral and ethical considerations are necessary aspects of sound education in a democratic society. Children cannot be encouraged to substitute personal wishes for social reality without severe risk to the stability of their personalities. Racial prejudices are indications of a disturbed and potentially unstable society.

Racial prejudice in America involves not only a pattern of preferred status for some on the basis of skin color, but also feelings of hostility and aggression sometimes reflected in barbaric cruelty. This pattern cannot exist in a democratic society without arousing deep currents of guilt and conflict.

As Gunnar Myrdal has pointed out, there is a gulf between the American ideals of democracy and brotherhood on the one hand, and the existence of racial prejudice, discrimination, and segregation on the other. The "American creed," which emphasizes the essential dignity of the human personality, the fundamental equality of man, and the inalienable rights to freedom, justice, and equal opportunity, is clearly contradicted by the denial of these to certain human beings because of their race, religion, or nationality background. The struggle between the moral forces and the manifestations of racial prejudice has long influenced American society. At times this struggle seems to have immobilized the constructive role of many of our social institutions, such as schools and churches. Indeed, during long periods of American history, it seemed possible for Americans to adjust, with little apparent difficulty, both to their dedication to the "American creed" and to their discrimination against Negroes. However, the essential strength of the democratic ideology periodically reasserts itself and demands re-examination of our racial practices. Myrdal and his associates have stated that the main trend in American history is toward the eventual realization of the "American creed" and the elimination of racial discrimination. Certainly the rapid changes and widespread improvements in race relations in America during the past fifteen years would seem to justify this optimistic conclusion.

There still remains, however, the problem of understanding how it was possible for Americans, whose nation was founded on clear statements of democratic principles, to tolerate for so long a pattern of racial discrimination that so clearly violated these principles. To understand this apparent contradiction, one would have to examine the basic motivations involved in America's colonization, development, and eventual emergence as a world power.

All white Americans were either immigrants or the decendants of immigrants. Each wave of newcomers had in common with all the others the fact that the group was fleeing either from economic hardships, from religious or political persecution, or from social humiliation. The people who made up this new nation, therefore, were driven by some basic form of personal or group insecurity. This insecurity had to be strong enough to compensate for the disadvantages and discomforts involved in leaving the homeland and migrating to a new world. In time America became the land of opportunity—the land which promised a security denied to the marginal or non-conforming men of the old world.

If one accepts the assumption that this basic motivation of insecurity was inherent in the very foundation of the American nation, then it is possible to in-

terpret the pattern of American culture as a consistent whole. It would seem that the initial insecurity of each group of new Americans not only resulted in a systematic exploitation of the natural resources of the new land, a pushing back of the frontiers, a glorification of work, and the rise of a technology that has practically dominated the culture, but also produced a fundamental concern with the ideas and practices of general equalitarianism and political democracy. The entrenchment in the culture of the expressed ideals of the "American creed" was determined by the past inferior status that had made the old world no longer tolerable. To American white colonizers and immigrants, the "American creed," like American technology, was accepted and sustained in order to obtain a security and integrity that had been previously denied. If this is true, it may offer an explanation of the relationship between the American ideology of equality and the American pattern of social and racial discrimination. An individual in quest of security and status may seek to obtain them not only through positive objective methods—work and personal achievement—but through the denial of security and status to another person or group. The exercise of this power over others may bring with it a feeling of security and status which equals or surpasses any satisfaction achieved by actual personal effort. The white American's espousal of the "American creed" is real and significant to him. It is the expression of *his* desire for equality, status, and security. His denial of these to the Negro is a manifestaton of this same desire, and makes him feel he has won a superior status. Seen from this point of view, the "American creed" and racial discrimination are not contradictory but compatible elements of American history and social psychology. Each has the same motivation—an intense drive for status and security.

If the resolution of the American dilemma is in the direction of the "American creed," it will not be because of the power of the ideals in themselves, or because of their apparent contradiction with social realities, or because of guilt feelings. It will be a result of the realistic pressures of changed economic and technological developments, together with social and political national and international events, which will tip the balance in the direction of forcing Americans to adhere to our ideals as the most effective means for maintaining the stability and vitality of our society.

One must acknowledge that it has been possible for America to accept this discrepancy between its moral codes and its violations of them; but one cannot completely discount the potential significance of the ideals themselves. Americans are both practical and idealistic. A basic belief of American culture is that one can work toward progress. Up to the present, the most significant indications of social progress in America have been brought about through material and technological advances. If political, legal, economic, and international pressures demand fundamental social changes in America, the American ideals of brotherhood may help to make the transitional period less disruptive and probably even a challenging and creative period in American history.

Beyond the larger social, economic, and international aspects of racial prejudice, there exist the inescapable human costs. Racial prejudices are not impersonal social problems. A democratic society should seek to eliminate symptoms of man's inhumanity to man because they distort and dehumanize human beings. Prejudiced persons are dominated by primitive fears and hatreds; and prejudices also damage the personalities of the victims. Parents, educators, and other adults concerned with stable personality and character in our children—all those who seek to provide the opportunity for children to enrich their lives and contribute to society as fully as possible—must increase their concern with the problem of protecting children from

the corrosion of destructive racial and social prejudices. It may not always be easy for adults to provide these opportunities for children, since most adults themselves grew up under social conditions that fostered racial prejudices. However, among the responsibilities and obligations that parents assume for their children is that of providing opportunities and experiences for growth which they, the parents, may not have had. This obligation is imperative not only in the family's economic and educational advancement, but in the area of social attitudes.

No normal parent would deliberately block his child's opportunity to obtain the preparation he needs in order to meet the demands of the present and the future. Racial attitudes which may not have been clearly inconsistent with the world in which the present generation of parents and grandparents grew up are clearly inconsistent with today's world. Vast changes in transportation and communication have brought distant lands and peoples within easy access and close relations. Narrow, provincial prejudices are no longer appropriate. The contemporary world demands the development of cosmopolitan attitudes toward people who are different. The peoples of Asia and Africa who were seen as exotic or bizarre in the nineteenth century are now demanding the status of equal partners in a world struggling for democratic stability. Our children will not be able to play an effective role in this modern world if they are blocked by our past prejudices and if through these attitudes they stimulate resentment and hostility rather than cooperation and understanding among other peoples of the world.

These are positive reasons for helping our children to meet the demands of our times. The modern world challenges American parents and educators to re-examine educational techniques and methods in order to determine the most effective ways to stimulate and reinforce in our children positive social attitudes which are essential to moral strength and personal stability. The vitality and stability of a humane society are at stake. The concern with the dignity of the human being—with the opportunity for the development of the moral potentialities of all individuals—distinguishes a democratic society from a totalitarian one.

BROWN vs BOARD OF EDUCATION (1954)

In May of 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down the following decision which ruled that state laws requiring or permitting racial segregation in public education are in violation of the Constitution. It concluded that the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. "Separate educational facilities are inherently inequal." The decision was the climax of a long series of legal cases which challenged the constitutionality of various forms of racial segregation in public education and other areas of American life.

These cases came to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief of the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 US 537, 41 L ed 256, 16 S ct 1138. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time. In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court intepreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race. The doctrine of "separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson (US) supra, involving not education but transportation. American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education. In Cumming v. County Board of Education, 175 US 528, 44 L ed 262, 20 S Ct 197, and Gong Lum v. Rice, 275 US 78, 72 L ed 172, 48 S Ct 91, the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged. In more recent cases, all on the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were

denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada, 305 US 337, 83 L ed 208, 59 S Ct 232, Sipuel v. University of Oklahoma, 332 US 631, 92 L ed 247, 68 S Ct 299; Sweatt v. Painter, 339 US 629, 94 L ed 1114, 70 S Ct 848; McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, 339 US 637, 94 L ed 1149, 70 S Ct 851. In none of these cases was it necessary to re-examine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in Sweatt v. Painter (US) supra, the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether Plessy v. Ferguson should be held inapplicable to public education.

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented. Here, unlike Sweatt v. Painter, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors. Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when Plessy v. Ferguson was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In Sweatt v. Painter (US) supra, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, 339 US 637, 94 L ed 1149, 70 S Ct 851, supra, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

"Segregation of white and colored children
in public schools has a detrimental effect
upon the colored children. The impact is
greater when it has the sanction of the law;
for the policy of separating the races is
usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority
of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority
affects the motivation of a child to
learn. Segregation with the sanction
of law, therefore, has a tendency to
[retard] the educational and mental
development of Negro children and to
deprive them of some of the benefits
they would receive in a racial[ly]
integrated school system."

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in Plessy v. Ferguson contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question —the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term. The Attorney General of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the States requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as amici curiae upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954.

It is so ordered.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

Ten years ago the first White House Conference on Education was held.
Here is part of the committee's report to the President.

From the work of the Committee for the White House Conference on Education, one fundamental fact emerges: schools now affect the welfare of the United States more than ever before in history, and this new importance of education has been dangerously underestimated for a long time.

Some of the reasons for the rapidly increasing importance of the schools have been often noted. Ignorance is a far greater handicap to an individual than it was a generation ago, and an uneducated populace is a greater handicap to a nation. This trend is obviously going to continue and quicken.

An equally important and less frequently mentioned reason for the growing importance of education is the plain fact that the schools have become the chief instrument for keeping this Nation the fabled land of opportunity it started out to be. In other decades, the opportunities of America lay primarily in escape from the rigid class barriers of Europe, the availability of free land at the frontier, and the excitement of a violently growing nation, where farms often became villages and villages became cities within the span of one human life. When the frontier was closed, it would have been easy for opportunities to dry up in this Nation, and for rigid class barriers to develop. It has been primarily the schools which have prevented this from happening. As long as good schools are available, a man is not frozen at any level of our economy, nor is his son. Schools free men to rise to the level of their natural abilities. Hope for personal advancement and the advancement of one's children is, of course, one of the great wellsprings of human energy. The schools, more than any other agency, supply this hope in America today. By providing a channel for ambition, they have taken the place of the frontier, and in a highly technical era, have preserved the independent spirit of a pioneer nation. The schools stand as the chief expression of the American tradition of fair play for everyone, and a fresh start for each generation.

It is this fundamental conception of schools designed to give a fresh start to each generation that has broadened the ideals of education in America so much in the past 25 years. It is no longer thought proper to restrict educational programs to the skills of the mind, even though those skills remain of fundamental importance. Schools also attempt to improve children's health, to provide vocational training, and to do anything else which will help bring a child up to the starting line of adult life as even with his contemporaries as native differences in ability permit.

The most practical aspect of this new concept of education is that it calls for the most careful mining and refining of all human talents in the land—it is in itself a kind of law against waste. This new educational ideal represents the fullest flowering of the long western tradition of emphasizing the dignity of the individual. Many difficulties, of course, attend its development, but the members of this Committee

believe that in essence it is noble and right, and that in the long run it will prove to be one of the great strengths of America.

It is, of course, obvious that much progress has been made toward realizing this new educational ideal in the United States during the recent past. It is the belief of this Committee, however, that improvement has been nowhere near fast enough. The onrush of science has outstripped the schools. What is even more important, ideals of human conduct have in some areas advanced as rapidly as technology. Many a school which seemed good enough a generation ago now seems a disgrace to the community where it stands.

The schools have fallen far behind both the aspirations of the American people and their capabilities. In the opinion of this Committee, there is growing resolve throughout the Nation to close the gap between educational ideals and educational realities. This Committee therefore makes the following fundamental recommendations.

1. We recommend that school authorities emphasize the importance of priorities in education. This Committee has embraced with enthusiasm the concept of schools which provide a great variety of services designed to do all that is possible to fit children for fruitful adult lives, but there is real danger that in attempting to do everything a little, schools may end by doing nothing well. At present, school funds are limited, and the student's time will always be limited. It is essential that schools pursue a policy of giving children first things first. In the rush for a great quantity of courses, quality must not be lost. The desire to provide education for all American children need not be inconsistent with the need to provide full opportunity for the gifted.

2. We recommend that the American people study carefully their systems of school organization and consider measures to deny funds, other than local, to districts which do not, after reasonable time, organize on an efficient basis. If the American people are asked to make sacrifices for better education, they deserve to have their funds used as efficiently as possible. This cannot be done without a great deal of reorganization in both rural and urban areas. There is no excuse for the existence of the 8,674 school districts which operate no schools. This is just one dramatic example of the need for reorganization. There is special need for studies of school systems in large cities, where most American children are now congregated. Ways must be found to decentralize large urban school systems to make them more responsive to the will of the people.

3. We recommend that local boards of education quickly assess their school building needs, and give this information to their State departments of education, and that the chief State school officers quickly relay this information to the United States Office of Education. Responsible estimates place the Nation's school building need at from less than 200,000 to nearly a half-million additional classrooms by 1960. Inadequate communication between local school districts and State departments of education is the chief cause for these contradictory figures. This Committee also recommends that every community and every State do all that is economically possible to construct the buildings required, and that during such emergency periods as now exist, Federal funds also be used wherever shown to be necessary. In the richest nation in all history, there is no valid reason for the grimy, dilapidated, and overcrowded school buildings which too many children now occupy. It is an ironic truth that most Americans would not permit their children to live in a house which is as bad as the school buildings which many pupils are forced by law to attend.

4. We recommend that greater inducements of all kinds be offered to attract and

retain enough good teachers, and that during the coming decade of teacher shortages, every effort be made to utilize the services of available teachers more effectively. Practical steps must be taken to change the concept of teaching as an impoverished occupation. Teaching must be made a financially comfortable profession. Every effort must be made to devise ways to reward teachers according to their ability without opening the school door to unfair personnel practices. Present salary schedules have the effect of discouraging many able people from entering the profession. Teacher preparation programs have the reputation of requiring needless and repetitious courses. This reputation has the effect of deterring brilliant young people from becoming teachers. Salary schedules and preparation courses should be reexamined and changed where necessary to make the teaching profession more attractive to the most able young men and women. This Committee believes that the next decade and possibly two decades will be emergency periods during which the teacher shortage will grow more acute, but that there is ample reason to hope for sufficient supplies of good teachers in the long run.

5. We recommend that a new look be taken at the entire question of how much money this society should spend on education. In view of the recommendations of this Committee concerning the objectives of education, teachers, and buildings, it seems obvious that within the next decade the dollars spent on education in this Nation should be approximately doubled. Such an increase in expenditure would be an accurate reflection of the importance of education in this society. The exact sources of the necessary funds will be determined more easily when there is more public agreement that the funds must be provided, and more vigorous determination to do something about it. In the opinion of this Committee, money for schools must continue to come from all three levels of government, with a portion of funds for school buildings being made available by the Federal Government on an emergency basis. Good schools are admittedly expensive, but not nearly so expensive in the long run as poor ones.

6. We recommend that every possible step be taken to encourage the interest and activity of all citizens in school affairs. Citizen advisory groups, organizations of parents and teachers, education conferences, and all other means at the disposal of the people of a democracy should be utilized to keep the schools in close contact with the people. In the final analysis, it is only the public which can create good schools and nurture them. In the long run, schools must do what the public wants, and if no strong public will is made known, schools falter. Public interest in education is aroused only by knowledge of problems and intentions, and can continue only if the public can play an active role in school affairs.

7. We recommend that a White House Conference on Higher Education, similar in scope to the program just concluded on the needs of elementary and secondary schools, be held promptly to consider the many complex problems facing, or soon to face, the Nation's colleges and universities of President's Committee on Education beyond High School. This Committee believes there is yet time to acquaint the American people with their imminent needs in higher education, but the time grows shorter and shorter. The flood of students now in the elementary and secondary schools is not far away from the colleges. If the people of the United States expect to attract more and more students into college, they must begin preparing for them now.

NATIONWIDE EDUCATIONAL POLICY

By James Bryant Conant (1964)

Here James B. Conant discusses a proposed system of interstate cooperation to shape a national education policy.

As we have seen, educational policy in the United States has been determined in the past by the more or less haphazard interaction of (1) the leaders of public school teachers, administrators and professors of education, (2) state educational authorities, (3) a multitude of state colleges and universities, (4) private colleges and universities, and (5) the variety of agencies of the Federal government, through which vast sums of money have flowed*** to individual institutions and the states.

It is my thesis that such a jumble of influential private and public bodies does not correspond to the needs of the nation in the 1960s. Some degree of order needs to be brought out of this chaos.***

I cannot help raising the question whether we do not need in the United States to create some sort of organization which will have the confidence of the state governments on the one hand, and on the other can bring to a focus a discussion of the important topics in education. Indeed I would hope there would be eventually not only a discussion but interstate cooperation.***

The states that have entered into these interstate compacts have certainly taken important steps in the direction of a rational approach to our educational problems. But one is still bound to ask: Are these regional pacts enough? They are excellent in principle and could be most effective in operation, but why only regional agreements? Why not a new venture in cooperative federalism? Why not a compact between all the states?

To be quite specific, let me be bold and make a suggestion for a possible way by which the road to the development of a nationwide educational policy might be opened up. Let the fifty states, or at least fifteen to twenty of the more populous states, enter into a compact for the creation of an "Interstate Commission for Planning a Nationwide Educational Policy." The compact would have to be drawn up by the states and approved by Congress. The document would provide for the membership of the commission and provide the guidelines for its operation. Each state would be represented*** ready to listen to any conclusions of the commission but, of course, would not be bound to follow its recommendations.***

I am well aware that there is no novelty in suggesting the appointment of a national body to plan for the future of American education. It is a time-honored scheme to have the President of the United States appoint a commission of educators and well-known laymen.***

I must admit that the record of national committees on education, however authorized and however appointed, is not such as to lead one to be optimistic about the results to be accomplished by still another committee. Yet the creation of a national commission which would be an interstate educational planning commis-

sion whose existence was the result of a compact between the states would be something quite new. It differs from schemes for appointing a Presidential or Congressional advisory commission in several respects. In the first place, because the commission would be an interstate commission, the reports of the working parties would be automatically concerned with state-by-state variations and would recognize the realities of the conditions in each state. In the second place, the recommendations would be directed to the state legislatures or state boards of education and would be considered by the state authorities because each state had been involved in the creation of the undertaking. In the third place, the magnitude and detailed nature of the financial demands required would be spelled out in such a way that Congress (through its own committees) and the Office of Education (through its own staff) could explore the significance of each item in terms of the function of the Federal governmental agencies.***

Admittedly, in setting up any working party, the most difficult task for the interstate commission would be an agreement on what I have called the framework. And to let a working party loose in any controversial area without some guidelines would be to insure catastrophic failure at the onset. Certain premises could be agreed on without much difficulty. These would constitute part of the framework for all of the working parties. In my opinion, these premises might be formulated somewhat as follows:

1. It is assumed that our present form of government should be perpetuated; to that end all future citizens of the nation should receive an education that will prepare them to function as responsible members of a free society, as intelligent voters and, if appointed or elected to public office, as honest reliable servants of the nation, state, or locality.

2. It is assumed that each state is committed to the proposition of providing free schooling to all the children in the state through twelve grades. (Though the Federal government has no power to proclaim the doctrine of free schools, practically the action of all the states during the last 100 years enables the interstate commission to declare that providing free public schooling is a nationwide policy of the United States.)

3. It is assumed that in every state the parents have a right to send their children to private schools, colleges, and universities instead of to the publicly supported institutions. This assumption follows from the interpretation of the Federal Constitution by the Supreme Court on more than one occasion.

4. It is assumed that each state *desires* to have all normal children in the state attend school at least five hours a day, 150 days a year, at least until they reach the age of 18, but that the states differ and will continue to differ in regard to the laws requiring school attendance and the way special provisions are provided for physically and mentally handicapped children.

5. It is assumed that each state accepts the responsibility of providing for the education of at least some of its youth beyond high school; the organization and financing of such education, however, differs and will continue to differ state by state; in each state opportunities for education beyond high school now includes at least one university chartered by the state and largely supported by public funds; the continuation of such universities as centers of research, advanced study, and above all, fearless free inquiry is essential to the welfare of the state and the nation.

6. It is assumed that the education provided in high school and beyond by public institutions is designed to develop the potentialities of all the youth to fit them for employment in a highly industrialized society.

7. The financing of education, including research and scholarly work in the universities, is a concern of private universities, the states, and the Federal government.

The declaration of some such set of premises by an interstate commission would be the first step in shaping a nationwide educational policy.*** After formulating the premises*** the commission would determine what subjects to explore and name the working parties.***

Merely as illustration, therefore, I suggest at the outset, working parties devoted to the following seven areas, without implying priorities:

1. Education in grades 13 and 14 (junior colleges) and the relation of this education to (a) professional training in a university and (b) the need for technicians. I have heard more than once that, as a nation, we are in short supply of the kind of person who is trained in some European countries in a course that is more practical and less scientific than the usual four-year engineering course in the United States. This working party would, of course, consider the supply and demand of technical personnel, and would have to be in close contact with the second and third parties on the list.

2. Education for employment immediately on leaving high school, including vocational courses in high school and post-high school.

3. Science and engineering, including an inquiry into supply and demand of those prepared for research and development and the facilities available for training such personnel.

4. The education of the Negro.

5. The education of members of the medical profession.

6. Uniformity of standards for degrees beyond the master's degree.

7. The promotion of research and scholarly endeavors in all fields in our institutions of higher education.***

To generate momentum at the state level requires that each state put its educational planning machinery in good order. To this end, I conclude this book by appealing to all citizens concerned with education to make their voices heard at the state capitals. To the end that more order be introduced into the present national picture, I appeal to members of state legislatures and of the Congress to examine

the need for some sort of interstate cooperation. Anyone who examines the facts I have presented in the preceding pages will be convinced, I feel sure, of the need for more detailed state-by-state study of American education. For only by such a study, looking forward to prompt action, can we arrive at a nationwide policy adequate to meet the challenges of the new and awesome age in which we live.

THE PARTNERSHIP OF CAMPUS AND COUNTRY

By Lyndon B. Johnson (1964)

This final selection, by the President of the United States, discusses the teamwork necessary for making and keeping education "the first work of these times." It is from his address of September 28, 1964 on the occasion of the 200th Anniversary Convocation of Brown University.

I want to consider with you today the future of an old and fruitful American partnership—the partnership of campus and country. That partnership was formed in 1787 when our forefathers gave us the command that "The means of education shall forever be encouraged."

From that Northwest Ordinance to the Land Grant College Act, from the Smith-Hughes Act to the enactments of this present education Congress, America has kept faith with that command. In all history, no other nation has trusted education, invested in it, or relied upon it as a mean to national progress so much as we.

A former great President of the Republic of Texas, Lamar, once said that the educated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. It is the only dictator that freemen recognize, and the only ruler that freemen desire.

Yes, our partnership has paid us priceless returns. From a backward position American scholarship has flourished. Today, wherever our country leads, that leadership traces to the contribution of the campus. Our partnership is challenged now by new dimensions. From 1776 until the present time, our universities have grown. From 9 in the beginning to more than 2,000 today. From the present until 1980, our existing institutions must double in capacity, and 1,000 more must grow with average enrollments of 2,500 each. But before the total of American scholars has doubled, the sum of human knowledge shall have doubled or more.

These are challenges that we should welcome, and that we should go out to meet, for the increase in scholarship is not a burden, but a blessing. The growth of knowledge is not a curse, but a cure for the ills of this age. Our concepts must change in both education and in politics. But our confidence and our courage must grow.

At the desk where I sit in Washington, I have learned one great truth: The answer for all of our national problems, the answer for all the problems of the world, comes down, when you really analyze it, to one single word—education. Thus, I take a hopeful view, and I call upon you of this campus to join with us who are entrusted with the affairs of a country to help us chart a hopeful course.

President Keeney said last week that knowledge is developing so rapidly that we can take no comfort in the belief that what appears to be the whole truth today will be the whole truth tomorrow. I believe that our partnership must be committed, deeply committed, to seeking the truth, for actually it is truth alone that will finally keep us free. Knowledge is not something which threatens to overwhelm us. Knowledge promises to be our salvation, and we must seek after it, and we must nurture its growth, and we must spread it, spread it among all of our people so each one of them has some of it.

Over the years, leadership of our university system has come from a relatively few great institutions, public and private. Well, I believe we must regard our existing centers of excellence as natural resources to set standards, to supply teachers, to furnish researchers for the new centers of excellence that we develop. This is a first responsibility. A great Nation or a great civilization feeds on the depth of its scholarship as well as the breadth of its educational opportunities.

In the sciences, in the arts, in our understanding of human behavior, all of our tools must be sharpened. Our public policy must encourage further the spread of research and scholarship throughout our system of higher learning. In our graduate schools, your Federal Government—*your Federal Government*—awards 12,000 fellowships and 35,000 trainees in science and engineering. We spend $850 million —almost $1 billion—on the support of reasearch in our universities alone.

The partnership of Government, your Government—not in any way off yonder, but something that belongs to you—the partnership of your Government and the universities is closest in the advanced education of postgraduate students. Twenty-nine percent of engineering students, 37 percent of the students in physical science, 46 percent of those in life sciences, and 10 percent of those in humanities are aided. And there simply just must be no neglect of humanities. The values of our free and compassionate society are as vital to our national success as the skills of our technical and scientific age. And I look with the greatest favor upon the proposal by your own able President Keeney's commission for a national foundation for the humanities.

We must also make certain that there is no neglect or no compromise of the American devotion to democracy of educational opportunity, because universal, free, public education is the very foundation upon which our entire society rests today. So our goals must be to open the doors to education beyond the high school to all young Americans, regardless of station or the station of their families. You and I have an opportunity that is not unlike that of the men and women who first formed these New England States. We have the opportunity to plant the seed corn of a new American greatness and to harvest its yield in every section of this great land.

On the response of our partnership depends the vigor and the quality of our American way of life, for many generations yet to come. As a party to that partnership, let me urge you of this campus to admit no compromise in charting our course to excellence. Concern yourselves not with what seems feasible, not with what seems attainable, not with what seems politic, but concern yourselves with only what you know is right. Your duty is the vision. The duty of the world that I represent is the reality.

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